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The Women of a State University

An Illustration of the Working of Coeducation in the Middle West

By

Helen R. Olin

G. P. Putnam's Sons
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TO THE

MEMORY OF MY SISTER

H. R. L.

PREFACE

WITHIN the past few years several universities under private control have considerably modified the advantages which they had previously extended to women. This has been by limiting the number of women to be received, or by giving them separate instruction in some degree. The latter change has been advocated as desirable in public education, and specially discussed with reference to state universities. It is consequently material to the general educational advantages of women, especially those who must depend upon public educational facilities, to consider what effect the proposed changes would ultimately have upon their present opportunities. The origin of these opportunities, their relation to the work women are undertaking in the world, and their effect on the lives and character of those who seek them are matters of considerable importance, if they are to be withdrawn, limited, or modified in any way.

The experience of a great university which has been graduating women for forty years should furnish information applicable in all these direc-

tions. It should suggest answers to many practical questions that have hitherto been met only by general impressions or inadequate observation, and should not be without influence in the discussion of any material change in the present system of public education.

It has seemed necessary to include in the following pages many quotations from contemporary records. It is only in this way that the origin and development of coeducation in Wisconsin can be adequately described, and the charge of influencing the presentation of the subject by personal impressions be avoided. If an institution has a spirit and policy of its own, and embodies these in tradition and usage, it should speak for itself; and its own expression should be so emphasised as to protect this spirit and policy from constant danger of revolution by the injection of every transient educational theory that may be advanced. In making these quotations there has been no selection of material from official records specially favourable to coeducation; for no presentation of the subject could have force if justly open to the suspicion of favourable selection. On the contrary, all that could be thus gathered with direct bearing on the discussion has been included, and all available facts regarding the work of the women of the university have been

presented. Whatever justification may be found for the present system of public education depends upon actual experience and the general public necessities of the present and future.

H. R. O.

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THE WOMEN OF A STATE UNIVERSITY

CHAPTER I

EARLY EDUCATIONAL ADVANTAGES IN WISCONSIN

THE university of Wisconsin has the advantage of having been located in the wilderness. Its policy has never been influenced by the neighbourhood of a great city, and educational interests have been developed in lines parallel with the social interests of the community instead of having been dominated by them. The site of the capital city was chosen when the unbroken forest still guarded its chain of lakes. From the time of this choice in 1836, the location of grounds for a state university was only second in public interest to that of buildings for the state government; and the highest point on Lake Mendota in the neighbourhood of the village was almost immediately called "College Hill."

Here it would be pleasant to recognise the eagerness of our pioneers for higher education; but

this pleasure must be resigned in the interest of truth. Although Congress was early petitioned for the initial provision for a university, it was only that Wisconsin might profit by the system already inaugurated by the general government for educational advantages in new territories; and the lands thus obtained by Wisconsin were for more than thirty years so managed as to sacrifice the interests of education to the policy of stimulating immigration.

The university was organised by the territorial legislature in 1838 as a matter of form to secure these lands; but "College Hill" was for twelve years only a prophecy. During the decade following 1838, Wisconsin was in pressing need of children to educate, as the entire population in 1848 amounted to but 250,000 people. Madison had 3000 inhabitants, and only two towns in the state had more. The greater part of the 92,160 acres of land, which was designed to provide a permanent fund to maintain a university, was sold, at an average price of $3.50 an acre, to settlers from New York and New England, and later from Germany and Scandinavia, who were induced to come to Wisconsin by a regularly established territorial commission for promoting immigration.

Under these circumstances when the university

was first put into active operation in 1850, there seems to have been no popular demand for such an institution, save to justify the provision made for it. Public graded and high schools were then practically unknown; and it was twenty years before they reached any great degree of efficiency, and the university had any substantial relation to a tributary public school system.

Private educational institutions following the academic system of New England were, at this time, far in advance of public education in Wisconsin. These were accompanied by parochial schools. Early legislatures gave substantial encouragement to the small colleges and academies; at the second territorial legislative session, charters were granted to eight seminaries.

Many of these small academies and colleges were coeducational and undenominational. While many have passed out of existence with the development of public education, a goodly number have developed into colleges which are contributing much to the educational interests of the state. Of the four colleges now granted the privilege of nominating candidates for university graduate scholarships, two were founded before the university was opened, one the same year, and one only three years later. These candidates are received on exactly the same basis as the uni-

versity graduates themselves. There are now in Wisconsin seven other colleges or academies which were organised before 1850.

These private schools naturally looked with disfavour upon the organisation of a state university. Each had its promoters influential in their own locality and with the state legislature. They represented ten different towns and villages at a time when the whole population of Wisconsin amounted to about 306,000 persons. They were bold in their demands, even urging that the lands secured for founding a university should be divided among themselves, as better able by priority of foundation to make use of such a provision.

The education of women was not neglected by these small colleges. Milton Academy received women in 1844, Ripon College in 1853, and Lawrence University in 1854. All are now flourishing coeducational institutions. Downer College was coeducational for ten years of its history, and in 1883 accepted a bequest conditioned upon its becoming a women's college. It is now incorporated with Milwaukee College.

In addition to the advantages offered by the coeducational schools, one excellent women's college in Milwaukee offered, in 1851, a course of study which compared very favourably with the literary

courses available at the university for a number of years after that date. In all respects excepting Greek, it was fully equal, and in modern languages considerably superior, to the university course. About 250 students were enrolled in this college in 1853, and 300 in 1866. Known as Milwaukee–Downer, it may now nominate candidates for the university graduate scholarships, and the graduates from its preparatory department are received without examination by the larger colleges for women in the east and by the state university.

The general spirit of Wisconsin people toward the education of women was unusually progressive in early days, and in several of the smaller towns of the state there were private schools for girls as early as 1860. In Baraboo, then a village with about 2000 people, one of these schools was conducted by Miss Mortimer, who, before and after her residence there, was at the head of the female college in Milwaukee. This preparatory school flourished for about ten years, and gave educational opportunities superior to any public school of the period in Wisconsin. It graduated its pupils with much ceremony from a primary to an academic department, and the course of the latter was entirely sufficient to admit a student to the university to-day. In addition to Miss Mortimer

this school had several teachers of distinguished ability, among them Mrs. Norton, afterwards connected with Mrs. Willard's school for girls in Berlin. Similar schools for girls existed in other towns of the state; and it is altogether probable that the educational opportunities for women would have developed in the line of separate education as in New England, if the excellent co-educational schools had not at an early day freely offered them superior advantages.

It is readily seen that a state university had difficulties to meet in public sentiment, where private education had so well occupied the very limited field for higher education. It is not surprising that early legislatures were not disposed to be generous toward such an institution, or that its early boards of regents were hard pressed to justify its existence to the politicians of a state where the entire annual income for public school purposes amounted in 1849 to less than $600 or less than one cent for each child.

At this time there had just been adopted a school code providing for a state, county, city, and district system of public schools, practically as it exists to-day. Dr. Henry Barnard, of Connecticut, prepared the original draft for this system. He was afterward elected chancellor of the state university for the express reason that he might

develop the university and common school system of the state in lines mutually beneficial. The university was in the early fifties, however, somewhat in advance of the needs of the state; since whatever necessity was felt for advanced education was being fairly well provided for by private institutions, which were rivals for public favour not to be despised by a new university.

That this public favour has in a measure been retained by them in spite of the rapid development of the university is shown by the fact that before 1904, various private colleges, academies, and seminaries of the state had graduated 3363 students; while the university had in the same period graduated from its college of letters and science, the only course covering a similar field, less than 3000 students. The university curriculum is of course more advanced than that of the other institutions, with possibly a few exceptions in certain lines.

So long as it seems possible that private resources may adequately provide for higher education, a sentiment for its public support is of slow growth; and for twenty years after the university organised its first class of students, the state did not contribute a single dollar for its maintenance. Not only this, it actually charged

the university fund income with the expense of taking care of its lands and keeping an account of its funds. In 1865, this sum received by the state from the university amounted to an annual charge of between nine and ten per cent. of the income which was wholly derived from the sale of lands granted by the federal government.

The state was by the terms of the federal grant required to provide buildings for the university. It failed to do this in the beginning, and the regents were obliged to construct all the buildings in use before 1870 from loans made from the university general fund. To make up for this, the state made an annual appropriation amounting to the interest of the money spent for these buildings. The whole sum paid for this interest before 1870 had amounted to $2697.69 more than the state had, at that time, received for taking care of the university fund and selling its land at the average price of $3.50 an acre. This sum consequently represents all that the state contributed even for building purposes before 1870.

It is significant that in this year an appropriation of $50,000 was made for the building of a dormitory for young women; and that this was the first general appropriation ever made by the state to the university, or its first appropriation for any

purpose excepting that for interest virtually owed by the state to the university for building purposes as already stated.

Not as beggars, then, did women come to the university of Wisconsin imposing hardship on those in possession by demanding a share of its scanty resources. They brought, rather, substantial gifts from the people, the first pledge of support from the state, representing the sentiment general with all citizens that the educational advantages of women were to be not secondary or incidental to other considerations, but parallel with those of men. The development of coeducation at the university was, consequently, somewhat exceptional. It did not originate as a grudging concession to the demands of women for educational opportunities, or as the result of a long struggle with prejudices prevalent at an institution well established on other lines. The sentiment of the people was progressive and liberal, and the policy of the regents has very generally responded to this sentiment.

The privileges of women had already in 1870 been well established at the university, as the natural outgrowth of the general educational condition of the state. As the lines along which it was sought to develop the institution in its earliest years had great influence in establishing

these privileges, a consideration of this development is necessary to a full understanding of the educational advantages for women in Wisconsin.

CHAPTER II

THE NORMAL DEPARTMENT

THE relation of the university to the whole system of public education was more frequently emphasised in the early fifties than any other principle. The influence of this emphasis, and its early practical results were very important in the development of coeducation. For thirteen years after the university was opened in 1850, the subject most prominent in all the annual reports of the regents was the reiterated statement that the university was to serve its most useful purpose to the state in training teachers for a general tributary system of public schools. The normal department of the university was not organised, as many seem to have supposed, for the benefit of the young women, or to provide a convenient makeshift to satisfy their demands. It had, nevertheless, an important practical bearing on their educational opportunities, and its early history is pertinent in considering the origin of these opportunities.

There was no very great demand for women as public school teachers before the civil war.

These teachers, even in the country schools, were many of them men. In fact, this was almost universally the case, save perhaps, for a few months in the summer when only small children were in attendance. It was to meet the demand for the training of men that the university first undertook to provide normal instruction. Such an undertaking met the popular criticism that a university had no practical relation to the needs of the people; and, in the absence of normal schools, presented its most valid claim to favour.

The development of this work brought women to the university in considerable numbers; and when, by the necessities of war, teachers were taken from the common schools, and students from the university, their places were filled by women who in undertaking to perform a duty thrust upon them prepared themselves for it as best they could. In this the university was their refuge, soon to become in truth their alma mater.

It is difficult to realise how important normal training was made in the early policy of the university without an examination of its records.

At the inauguration of the first chancellor of the university in 1850, the representative of the board of regents discussed the subject of normal training at length in his address. He announced the foundation of a "normal professorship," and

an "ordinance" adopted by the regents as follows: "It is the fixed intention of the regents to make the university of Wisconsin subsidiary to the great cause of popular education by making it, through its normal department, the nursery of the education of the popular mind, and the central point of union and harmony to the educational interests of the commonwealth." The address added: "There are doubtless many young men in every county who will be glad to avail themselves of its privileges. It will therefore be the first in the university to exhibit its fruits, . . . and it is confidently hoped that the people will esteem it a praiseworthy feature in the organisation of the institution."

To this, Chancellor Lathrop responded that the university should be enabled "so to inform and discipline those who enter that they may . . . bear to the household of every citizen the means and opportunity of liberal culture. . . . The university of Wisconsin purposes to do for the great cause of popular education in the state what the normal schools of other states have attempted to do only partially. . . . The university will invite those young men who intend to do the state service in her public schools . . . to avail themselves of the instructions of the normal department, in all that may be regarded

as professional in the theory and practice of teaching."

The regents, in 1850, presented a fully developed plan for the organisation of a normal department, giving to this subject nearly one-third of their annual report. The subject was treated entirely with reference to the education of men, excepting a statement that is added after they had formally closed the topic. "It is," said the report, "by making our university the *school of the schoolmaster* [originally italicised] that a corps of competent instructors is to be best provided. . . . The university makes the teacher of the district school the dispenser of its bounty; . . . as the heart and centre of the whole system, its pulsations send the tide of intellectual life to the remotest extremities of the social body." The report somewhat naïvely expressed the "firm belief" of the regents that "the university itself will be the gainer by its beneficent action on the popular mind," and concluded as follows: "With these remarks, the board take leave of this branch of the subject, and respectfully commend the whole matter to the candid consideration of the legislature. It is proper, however, to subjoin in this connection, that the normal department of the university will be made to embrace suitable provisions for the professional training of female teachers." The

"candid consideration of the legislature" did not rise to the occasion so ably presented; and the five succeeding annual reports of the regents emphasised their desire to establish the normal department which for lack of funds they were obliged to neglect.

It is significant in the foregoing that the normal department was desired for its own sake, and not to accommodate the women. It is also of interest to note that, even in the earliest plans for its development the claims of the "female teacher" were not ignored. These claims were again recognised in the following year, when the regents stated that their "plan contemplates the admission of female as well as male teachers to all the advantages of the normal department of the university, and offers to the members of the teachers' class access to the instructions of the other departments." This was published when the members of the university's first class were sophomores. In the policy of the regents, and their official promise as published to the state, men had but one year's priority of women in all the advantages of the university so far as "access" to any department was concerned. In fact, when the normal department was fully organised, this very access was an inducement to some women who remained three or four years at the university, taking a consider-

able amount of work in other departments. One argument for the organisation of independent state normal schools was later based upon the fact that the university normal students could not be confidently counted upon for the services needed, as many of them were seeking the university for the purpose of a general education.

In 1851, the regents promised in case the funds would allow, to fill the "chair of normal instruction," in readiness for the work in the following year. They also proposed to erect the second of the university buildings for the use of this department. The necessary pecuniary conditions were not fulfilled; and the regents reminded the representatives of the people in 1852, in discussing the claims of promised schools of law and medicine: "The board continues to be of the opinion that the obligations of the university to popular education in the state are paramount to those which are due to the professions above named."

In the same year Chancellor Lathrop reminded the people: "Desirous as the board have shown themselves to be, to see the university in the full performance of this important service for the public schools, in justice to the other departments of the university, it is not to be forgotten, that the normal department is designed distinctly for the benefit of the system of public

instruction for the state, and that its support is a just charge on the income of the school fund. I would therefore recommend to the board to hold themselves in readiness to co-operate with the department of public instruction, and proceed to the erection of the normal building, and the opening of the school for the gratuitous instruction of the teachers of the state, just as soon as the means may be provided by the proper action of the legislature."

Since at this time the state was contributing nothing to the support of the university in any of its departments, the position of Chancellor Lathrop was just and dignified. His opinion on the need of normal instruction, however, had not been changed. In 1854, he stated: "The district school should look to the academy and to the normal department of the university for qualified teachers; while the graduates of the university should find a large and profitable field of social duty in supplying the academic instruction of the state. The completeness of our system of public education will not be fully realised until . . . the academy or union school in every township in the state shall enjoy the instruction of teachers who shall have gone through with a full course of study of university instruction."

In 1855, the state department of public instruc-

tion enforced the plea of the university regents, and its superintendent recommended to the legislature that there should be made an annual appropriation from the income of the general public school fund for the support of a normal professor in the university. In the same year such a professor was first elected, but as no appropriation had been made by the legislature, the instruction was limited for several years to the summer term of each year. In announcing this course of instruction, the regents said: "The young men who may connect themselves with the teachers' class will be admitted to the instruction of the other departments of the university as they may select." It is seen that, although the same privilege was extended to women as soon as they appeared for normal work, the instruction of men was still the chief consideration in organising the course.

Eighteen men formed the first class of "normalites," as the young women of the university were afterwards called. It is, no doubt, this application of the term that has led many to think that the normal department was organised specially for women. The same inference might also be drawn from the recent statement of President Van Hise that "in Wisconsin it is to be said that at the outset women were admitted only to a normal department and their class work was entirely

separate." It will be seen that the president is mistaken in this statement.

In 1857, twenty-eight men were enrolled in the normal department; and for the following year the professor in charge reported that the lectures "were open to the body of students, and were attended as to part of the course by a majority of the whole number." At this time the whole number of students in the university was 164.

In 1858, it was sought to develop the normal work at the university and unite it more closely with the general public school system by the election as chancellor, of Dr. Henry Barnard, who had originally planned the Wisconsin school code. Dr. Barnard had been in charge of the public schools of Rhode Island, and superintendent of common schools in Connecticut. He had been president of the American Association for the advancement of education; and in 1867 became the first commissioner of the department of education at Washington. He was very closely identified with the development of public education, especially the common schools; and in coming to Wisconsin expected to serve both the regents of the university and the newly constituted board of normal school regents. There could have been no more forcible evidence of the university's

policy toward the common school system than his election.

In preparing for the change in administration, Chancellor Lathrop accompanied his resignation with the following statement: "The organic law of the state declares the object of the university to be to provide the inhabitants of the state with the means of acquiring a thorough knowledge of the various branches of science, literature, and the arts. . . . The time has arrived for a full development of the normal department of the university, . . . and the regents of the normal schools (of which there were none in existence) indicate a disposition to co-operate with the regents of the university in this behalf. . . . This function of the university takes rank in my judgment of its obligation to the professions and the industrial arts. . . . Wisconsin now needs an array of 4000 instructors to meet the educational wants of the young mind of the state, and the demand is increasing year by year with the rapid increase of our population. The great problem then for the state to solve is how best to provide an adequate number of well-educated and well-informed teachers to fill every educational post in the state."

The population of Wisconsin increased from about 300,000 in 1850, to 800,000 in 1861. By the appropriation of money from the sale of swamp

lands, provision had been made in 1858 for an annual income of $15,000 for state normal school work; and it became a disputed question as to whether this income should be given to the university or devoted to the organisation of separate normal schools. In addition to his duties as chancellor of the university, Dr. Barnard was expected to harmonise these conflicting claims, and to organise and administer the entire normal school system for the state. He remained but one year, as his health necessitated retirement from active work, but the general interest in normal instruction received an impetus from his activity.

From a letter written by President Adams in 1899 it appears that Dr. Barnard expressed himself to Dr. Adams in 1897, to the effect that he "found the common schools in so wretched a condition that it seemed absolutely necessary, in order to accomplish anything, to improve the methods of teaching. . . . He said there was no use trying to have a university here until we could have students with a more thorough preparation than that which was then given. I am inclined to think that if his health had permitted him to continue his work, and if he had been able to put the preparatory schools on a really good foundation, the university might have had a

much more rapid and healthful growth in the years immediately succeeding." [1]

In the changes incident to a change of officers, no normal instruction was given at the university in 1859. But in 1860, thirty women and twenty-nine men attended the lectures. This is the first record of women in attendance at the university. Ten years had passed since the regents had declared it to be their policy to receive them for normal work, with the inducement soon added of access to other departments. Men had been attending irregular normal instruction for four years at this time. It certainly does not appear from the record that the women of Wisconsin had been making any great clamour for admission to the university. If they had done so, it might have been just the impetus that the normal department in its weakness most needed.

The truth is that the education of women was being pretty well attended to by other institutions coeducational and otherwise; and the university was very glad to welcome them when, in 1863, the normal department was fully organised with a three years' course under the direction of Professor Charles H. Allen. If the state needed teachers, no less did the university need students

[1] *The History of the University of Wisconsin*, Reuben Gold Thwaites, p. 74. J. N. Purcell, Madison, 1900.

without reference to their race, sex, previous condition, or future intention. That the war had seriously affected the number of students in the university, and the number of men available as teachers for the common schools, is well shown by a report of the university faculty made in the spring of 1862. This report rejoiced that in spite of an arrangement whereby a student could absent himself for four months of the year to teach, fifty-four students had reported for work during the winter term of the university. The report added: "We dare not expect so many this present season, as the demand for primary teachers will be more pressing than ever, since so many lately of that class are now serving their country in the field."

It need only be stated that more than two-thirds of all the men in Wisconsin suitable for military service entered the army, to explain why the program of commencement day in 1864 was entirely abandoned, and why the number of women enrolled in the normal department rapidly increased. When it is remembered that in Wisconsin, in 1863, women were enrolled in collegiate work in three coeducational colleges and one for women, as well as in two coeducational academies that four years later entered upon collegiate work, it is reasonable to conclude that the university

normal department was at this time being specially urged in order to attract women to the university rather than to provide for those who were demanding admission. It must be remembered also that these private institutions were giving attention to normal work; and that the early history of the only women's college among them shows that it was, under the influence of Catherine Beecher and the New England Woman's Educational Association, seeking to relate itself closely to the development of the industrial and professional training of women.

The only advantage to the university in this rivalry for the patronage of women lay in the moderate sum required for tuition and other expenses in a state institution. In 1863, there were more women in attendance at the university than there were men in all departments, excluding that for preparatory work. At this time a dormitory previously occupied by men was set aside for the young women who "should become members of the normal school"; and the current catalogue added the tempting assurance that "ladies desiring board will be received into the family of the professor, and it will be the aim to make both the privileges and restraints as homelike as possible." That the interests of the men were not overlooked by the department is shown by the same catalogue:

"The ample arrangements which will be made within its spacious grounds and buildings for the accommodation of students of either sex . . . will doubtless commend the university normal school to those who are seeking to educate themselves for the high vocation of the teacher."

The same catalogue also states: "All members of the normal school, in addition to the proper exercises of that department will, without additional charge, have access to the lectures and other exercises of such other university classes, as, with the approbation of their principal, they may elect to attend." The reference to the principal above cannot apply to sex limitations in a school where both men and women were enrolled. It was included because some restriction as to the qualification for the "lecture," "exercise," or "class" elected was necessary. The young women very generally availed themselves of the privileges of election granted; and those who graduated from the normal department in 1865, 1866, and 1867, had many of them recited in the regular university classes with the men students in such subjects as Latin, German, mental and moral philosophy, and political economy. Other subjects were probably taught in the same way, although the memory of those readily available for inquiry is not decisive.

The enrolment of students, including those in the preparatory department, during this period gives the following facts:

	Women	Men
Winter term, 1862–3,	0	63
Spring term, 1863,	76	101
Fall term, 1863,	117	110

Of those registered above for the spring term, 112, and for the fall term, 162, were normal students; showing that a considerable number of men were so registered. In fact it appears that of the 110 men registered at that time, 45 were normal students, and 65 were students in other collegiate and preparatory courses.

Another catalogue for the year ending June, 1864, covering the same fall term mentioned above, gives the whole number of students enrolled for the year as 361. Of these 180 were women, who were classified as 60 "normal" and 120 "irregular" students. The men were classified as 42 in regular college classes, 89 "irregular" and 50 "preparatory" students.

The catalogue for 1864–65 gives the following summary:

	Men	Women
Students in College Classes	41	0
Students in Normal "	0	66
" " Preparatory Classes	44	53
" " Select Course	84	18

The same catalogue gives an explanation of the "select course": "Persons desirous of pursuing selected studies are admitted to any of the recitations and other exercises of the regular classes for which they may be prepared."

Six women graduated from the normal department in 1865 and six in 1866. During this period there were about as many men and women attending the university in all departments as there were women at the Milwaukee female college.

It is seen that in the public need for teachers many women came to the university to prepare themselves for that work; that these women were privileged to take any work with the regular college classes that they desired, and that many availed themselves of this privilege; that, in the disorganisation of college work incident to the war, while the classification of students varied, the number of women in attendance very considerably increased.

It is not accurate to say of Wisconsin that "at the outset the women were admitted only to a normal department, and their class work was entirely separate." The conditions were more correctly stated by Professor James D. Butler in 1890, who had himself witnessed whereof he spoke. "The experience of these Jewesses (the daughters of Zelophehad) was repeated here. When the academic young men went out to war, the young

women took the places which they had left vacant. The necessity of the university was their opportunity. Thus coeducation was naturally born here. It came in almost unawares, as the morning steals upon the night, chasing the darkness. It started into life here sooner and more vigorously than in most other quarters, because student enlistments were more prompt and multitudinous than in most institutions." [1]

[1] "An Early Decade of Wisconsin History," in the students' annual, *The Badger*, 1890, p. 88.

CHAPTER III

CONFLICTING THEORIES

EVIDENCES had not been lacking, either generally or in the history of the Wisconsin university before 1866, that the subject of coeducation, aside from its application to normal school work, was of great public interest. As we have seen, many private schools of the state were coeducational; and, in the organisation and history of the public school system, there was no thought of special privileges or opportunities for boys.

In 1858, a bill was introduced in the state senate for the reorganisation of the university which provided for the obligatory admission of women to all its departments. It was prompted by general public criticism of the university and supposedly hostile to its management. But there was nothing revolutionary about the clause admitting women, and this attracted no attention or discussion. It could not even have implied any criticism, for it was quite in accord with what the regents themselves had included in their report published in 1857 as follows: "The completion of the central edifice will open the way to the admission of

female pupils to the normal and other departments of the university. It is a question now much agitated whether the liberal culture of the female mind is an end most appropriately attained under the existing agency of separate educational establishments, doubling the array and quadrupling the expense of the instruction. The entire success which has attended the common education of the sexes in the normal schools and higher academies of the eastern states goes far toward settling the question for the university. There is not wanting collegiate experience of some authority in the same direction, and the whole question is now being conclusively tested at Antioch College under the presidency of Horace Mann. It may be alleged that public sentiment in Wisconsin is not yet ripe for dispensing with separate female schools; still the board deem it right to prepare to meet the wishes of those parents who desire university culture for their daughters by extending to all such the privileges of the institution."

This advanced ground was taken by the regents only three years after the first class had graduated from the university, at a time when only one of the five previously founded state universities, that of Utah, admitted women.

President Van Hise, in an address before the

Collegiate Alumnæ Association, said: "In considering the subject of coeducation it is necessary to remember that in the older state universities of the middle west, coeducation began, not in consequence of the theoretical belief in it upon the part of the officials of those institutions, but in spite of such belief."[1] It is necessary to remember, in considering the general statement made by President Van Hise, that the development of coeducation in Wisconsin was exceptional. This has appeared from the account of its origin already given, and is strongly emphasised by the words of the regents themselves. The opinion of this board has never varied, but has for forty years been uniformly favourable to coeducation both theoretically and practically considered.

This opinion, though prevailing generally, was not universally received without question. The first evidence that any one objected to the presence of women at the university is found in a faculty report of 1865, which related that, "it is not to be disguised that among former students of the university, and among leading ones now in the institution, there has been a strong feeling of opposition to the normal department, mainly on the ground of its bringing females into the univer-

[1] "Educational Tendencies in State Universities," *Educational Review*, xxxiv., 509.

sity. There has been an apprehension that the standard of culture would be lowered in consequence. No reason whatever has as yet existed for this apprehension. There has been no such mingling of classes in the higher and more recondite subjects as to render this effect possible, even if it would be the result; and, in point of fact, there has not been a period in the history of the university when some few students have carried their studies to a higher or wider range than in recent years." There is some obscurity about the last words quoted, but they seem to indicate that "a higher or wider range" of studies had been as yet limited to few students, and that the great majority had nothing to fear from a possible lowering of standards. It is, however, perfectly clear that a "mingling of classes" to any extent was not prevented by the rules of the institution, although it had not "as yet" occurred to the possible extent of interfering with the rapid and extensive advancement of the young men. At this time Greek was the most popular of the more "recondite" subjects, and its invasion by women was probably dreaded. There is no record of their successfully attempting this before 1870.

The history of coeducation everywhere shows one of the first obstacles encountered to be the theory of the mental inferiority of women, and

naturally this objection was made by students in Wisconsin. The faculty seems to have effectively checked any serious manifestation of this feeling on the part of the students, and the words quoted are now the only evidence in official records that it ever existed. The men at the university had been deprived of one of their dormitories, and found themselves uncomfortably crowded in their new quarters. A curtailment of the creature comforts had probably as much to do with their lack of hospitality as a jealous fear for the integrity of intellectual standards.

Whatever feeling of opposition was felt by the students to the presence of women had entirely disappeared before 1872. In 1892, one of the young women on the general class-day program testified to the cordial relations that had certainly prevailed for twenty years: "There is among the young men of the university so much courtesy and consideration for the young women, such a flavour of the old time chivalry that it has almost given me the feeling that coeducation is a concession to the men. The coeducation that I had previously known had been that of a certain college in —— where class banquets, so called, were given and the young women of the class not bidden to the feast, class pictures taken and feminine faces not asked to lend their loveliness to the group, and class

annuals published and dedicated to the maidens of a school down-town! You will not wonder then that I beheld with astonishment the gallantry of the university boys!" What the tale will be in 1912 depends in some measure upon whether women shall in any degree by any authority be referred to as an extraneous element in state universities. Certain it is that in 1865, some students of Wisconsin opposed the presence of women. It is recalled that before that date one of the men's literary societies was distinguished for courtesy in inviting the young women to the meetings, while the other ignored them; which is the best evidence that there were then, as now, many men of many minds and degrees of courtesy toward women.

In the spring of 1866, an act was passed reorganising the university. This act expressly declared that "the university in all its departments and colleges shall be open alike to male and female students." This clause brought serious difficulty upon the board of regents. Since 1860, the university had been without a head; and for two years before that time, under Dr. Barnard, who was obliged to give the greater part of his time to the state department of public instruction. In 1866, the presidency was offered to Dr. Paul A. Chadbourne of Williams College. He twice visited the state, at the solicitation of the

regents; but the coeducational clause of the reorganisation act was finally an insuperable barrier to his acceptance. As the regents expressed it, he declined "owing to circumstances beyond the control of the board."

The law which has been referred to was passed, not as a revolutionary measure, but as a matter of course in a general reorganisation act; and the coeducational part of it expressed what had been published as the policy of the university, and what had actually become its practice. While Dr. Chadbourne felt that he could direct this policy and change this practice, the state law was more than he could encounter, although he was a masterful man.

In this extremity, to secure this man, the regents appealed to the legislature for an amendment to the coeducational clause of the reorganisation act: "The regents have encountered serious objection to this provision on the part of educational men and others, and they have become satisfied that an attempt to carry it out in its full scope would be injurious to the future prospects of the university. It is not deemed proper here to enter into a discussion of the question to what extent young men and women can satisfactorily and advantageously be educated in the same institution, nor is it here disputed that young women

have an equal claim with young men to the facilities of education offered by a state, but the regents are convinced that it would be extremely difficult, if not impossible, to secure the services of a thoroughly competent and experienced educational man as head of the institution if the law is not so amended as to give the board of regents the power to admit female students under such rules and regulations only as experience, prudence, and the greatest good of the institution may dictate. It is not their desire to ask the legislature to exclude females from the university, but they wish to have the necessary authority for the creation of a separate female department, and for making the necessary regulations concerning the participation of females in the different branches of university studies."

This was the first serious check to the progress of coeducation in Wisconsin, and the first expression from its governing board that a "separate female department" was even considered. This plan was in accordance with Dr. Chadbourne's wish and a concession to his conservatism. As a physiologist he was opposed, not merely to coeducation, but to any higher education for women in the lines pursued by men. This opinion he expressed to the young women themselves. His views on the subject were quite contrary to the general sent-

iment of the people, and the policy previously outlined by the regents. In practical effect they were in perfect accord with the opinion of those who in 1907 first advocated segregation in the university forty-two years after its advocacy by Dr. Chadbourne.

For the regents of 1866 it must be said, that they were disheartened by the dearth of "thoroughly competent and experienced educational men," and made their plea solely on this ground. They also stoutly reaffirmed their position "that young women have an equal claim with young men to the facilities of education offered by a state." In the days when higher education was wholly in lines of general culture, and had very little bearing on the relative professional standing of men and women, this statement of principle doubtless seemed a sufficient safeguard to the educational interests of women. Under the changed conditions of the present it would be less adequate. There was, moreover, such a pressing need in 1866 of a good administrative officer at the university under the reorganisation act, that the legislature amended the law and decreed that "the university shall be open to female as well as male students under such regulations and restrictions as the board of regents may deem proper."

It is recalled that previous efforts had been made

to reorganise the university, which had for years been subject to severe public criticism. To refuse to concede what the regents asked would, in their opinion at least, postpone indefinitely the effective reorganisation of the university; and it seemed a small concession to make, when the means were at hand for immediate and effective use.

In this reorganisation, the regents allowed Dr. Chadbourne to recommend the regulations which they had been empowered to make in order to secure his services; and on his arrival at the university in 1867, he proceeded to develop plans for a separate female college. To this plan President Chadbourne was enthusiastically devoted. The regents allowed him full liberty in its promulgation, the students were at hand for its work, and the legislature made a generous provision for its needs as presented by him. After three years, however, he withdrew from the university finding that his ideas of education were not compatible with the sentiment of the people. He was disappointed and baffled by the failure of his plans in this regard, although in every other respect, his success at a critical period in the university's history was noteworthy. He made an excellent administrative president when such an officer was sorely needed; and reduced to efficiency the

work outlined by the reorganisation act of 1866. He was, moreover, an excellent teacher. In this capacity he won the affection and respect of his students, both men and women; and in all matters regarding the latter was courteous and kind though not progressive. A woman who was for three years under his tuition has recently said: "Our class was in the university all the time that President Chadbourne was there. He did not favour coeducation, but he was a fine teacher and appreciated our efforts to gain equal privileges; and, rather than hinder in any way by his opinions the success and progress of the university, he withdrew and took with him our love and respect."

The chief difficulties in the way of a state female college in connection with a state university encountered by President Chadbourne in Wisconsin, are generally illustrated by the fact that during the six or seven years following the initiation of his plan the twenty-two coeducational colleges of the country were increased to ninety-seven. These included all the state universities which were founded before 1871, and in the east, Boston University, Cornell, Swarthmore, Syracuse, and the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. There was not so great progress in Wisconsin during the same period because, with the exception of parochial schools and one college for each sex, practically all

the education of the state had always been coeducational. The conditions at the private coeducational schools of Wisconsin at this time are represented in a letter written by the president of Ripon College early in 1872. This college is now one of four recognised by the university in the privilege of nominating candidates for university graduate scholarships. President Merriman said: "Above two-fifths of our students, in preparatory and collegiate classes, are females. One-third of our instructors are also ladies. The ladies reside in a separate building, but male and female students attend recitations, lectures, and chapel exercises together; they also board together in the same hall. While there are considerable intellectual differences between the sexes, their average scholarship and intellectual power has been here about the same. The intellectual and moral influence of association of the sexes has been salutary. We are seeking to establish here a kind of college life somewhat better than that which has sometimes prevailed in some of the older colleges. . . . We are trying to secure a public sentiment among our students, which will not tolerate hazing and similar barbarisms, or profanity, intemperance, and similar immoralities. The coeducation of the sexes is favourable to these ends. We think it desirable to have the sexes

associated in education for the same reason that it is desirable to have boys and girls in the same family, and the sexes associated in church and on social occasions. Of course there are some practical difficulties connected with the working of the plan. The health of young women is generally inferior to that of young men. Another difficulty is subjection to fashion in dress and social habits; another is conventional and unworthy ideas of what a woman should be or do—that she should be an ornament perhaps pet, if she can, and if not must be a drudge. But these sources of difficulty are great evils which education should seek to remedy; and coeducation of the sexes is very favourable to the process. The plan is no longer looked upon as an experiment in this state. Public opinion decidedly favours it."[1] This was written after about twenty years of experience of coeducation by Ripon College.

The "conventional and unworthy ideas" referred to by President Merriman will always prevail with a certain class. In education they are now dignified as "specialised" instruction for women, although coeducation has done much to put them upon the right basis.

Ripon College has always been generous in its

[1] Included in a minority report on the admission of women to Williams College, *Williams Vidette*, July 6, 1872.

recognition of the service of women as instructors. On another occasion its president said of one who had been connected with the institution for more than thirty years that he considered her services to the college of more importance than his own; and his words applied not alone to her social influence but to her intellectual vigour and scientific knowledge.

It is seen that for many reasons Wisconsin was not, in the early seventies a very favourable field for the development of a great state female college; and President Chadbourne owed his failure to difficulties that the most ardent advocate of segregation could not hope to overcome.

CHAPTER IV

THE FEMALE COLLEGE

PRESIDENT CHADBOURNE'S plan for a female college embraced a separate and inferior course of study for women, and a building for their residence and recitations. Women were to be instructed in the direction of their special needs according to the fashion of the period, and although they were not to recite in the presence of their fellow students of the opposite sex, they might sit in the same lecture room and silently absorb the wisdom that was thought to be appropriate to young men. As its course of study was ignored, and its new building immediately served for the joint recitations of men and women, the female college became a curious anomaly,—a course of instruction without students or graduates, and a building without a college. The only practical results were a partial experiment in segregation for three years, and a catalogue fiction extending over a further period of the same duration. The experiment made their work disagreeable and irritating to the young women, as it ministered to the feeling of superiority on the part of

the young men. It also created dissatisfaction among the people; and the regents, who had conceded so much to Dr. Chadbourne's conservatism, were constantly put upon the defensive in his behalf. The female college list of names in the catalogue misrepresented the actual condition at the university, and led to its being very generally advertised as admitting women in 1874.

The normal department was last announced in the university catalogue for 1867, as "intended to furnish a thorough education for ladies and admit them to all the advantages of university education. . . . Students in this department may attend all university lectures, and may in addition to the course of study prescribed for graduation elect any study in the college of arts or letters." There were 109 women enrolled in this department, and it must be remembered that no provision for separate recitations in any department had to this time been made. President Chadbourne's plan of reform was so ineffectual in substituting a different course of study for women, that in 1869, while he was still president, and one year before women were admitted at all to the university of Michigan, six women graduated in Wisconsin from the college of letters and arts in a total class of fifteen. The women of this class received the same degree as the men; and only one

class since that date, covering two of President Chadbourne's three years of service, has failed to graduate women with such a degree.

The difference in the work of the women under President Chadbourne is shown by the first catalogue issued after his arrival. This catalogue in 1868 substituted "female college" for "normal department" and stated that "the president and university professors give instruction in their several departments, and students have the privilege of attending university lectures, but recitations and other exercises are distinct from those in the other colleges." "University lectures" here referred to class lectures in various subjects, some of which were taught only in this way; thus giving to women all the instruction available, with the only difference of separate examinations. That women very generally received this instruction is shown in the request made by the regents in 1869 for the new building required for the "female college," which referred to one of the rooms then in use for class work as "the only room in the university, excepting the chapel, large enough to accommodate some of the classes for lectures if the young ladies attend as they do now." In the catalogue for 1868, 140 women were enrolled, and it is an interesting evidence of the confusion attending the transition period that they were

still classified as "normal students." Within one year, President Chadbourne was forced, by the uniform practice of the women students in selecting their work, to abandon any definite plan of emphasising the course which he desired them to pursue; and the catalogue for 1869 stated under the advertisement of the female college: "In addition to the prescribed course in this college young ladies are instructed in any study taught in the college of letters and arts for which they are prepared. . . . Young ladies receive the same degree as gentlemen for the same or equivalent courses of study." This catalogue contained the names of 150 women students.

On the resignation of President Chadbourne in 1870 the regents referred to the new dormitory for women, and announced in regard to their course of study: "We are proud to say that Wisconsin is far in advance of her sister states in the noble provision which she is making for the higher education of the daughters of the state. In carrying out the wise policy of the legislature, it is the purpose of the regents to do all in their power to provide for ladies the same facilities for college education enjoyed by gentlemen." As to the practical results of these facilities they added, that the "highest reward" of the university faculty was "to see the fruitage of their labours in the

sending out of accomplished young men and women to labour in yet broader fields."

In regard to the course of study specially provided for a female college by President Chadbourne, it may be said that although it continued to be offered in the catalogues for several years after his departure, no woman ever graduated from it, or availed herself of any of the opportunities it presented. It was entirely superfluous and innocuous, excepting as it illustrated President Chadbourne's idea of what a woman's education should be. It fitly exemplified the statement of President Jordan to the national federation of women's clubs, in Los Angeles that "there is no demand for easy or 'goody-goody' courses of study for women except as this demand has been encouraged by men. In this matter the supply has always preceded the demand."[1]

The segregation feature of President Chadbourne's plan was more operative. It resulted in irritation, expense, and inconvenience; many professors found it impracticable, President Chadbourne was obliged to discontinue it for some of his own work, and it was finally definitely abandoned as a policy on his departure. Although the regents announced, in 1870, that,

[1] "The Higher Education of Women," *Popular Science Monthly*, lxii., 100.

"ladies are allowed separate instruction when preferred," no instance is known of its having been preferred or even considered. The same choice of exclusion to be extended to men was never considered by the authorities of the university before 1908; although in early days many of the men students would have availed themselves of such a choice. The practical results of separation on the education of women were well known in 1870; and the injustice of subjecting women to these results, by no choice of their own, was then well recognised. The catalogue of 1870 enrolled 136 women in the "female college," classifying 19 of the number as "university students." There were enrolled in the same catalogue 102 men in preparatory work, and 215 men in regular college classes, 83 of the latter number being classed as "university students."

The dormitory for women was, in President Chadbourne's scheme of education, to provide the young women with all the recitation rooms they should require, as well as residence. An appropriation for the building was requested in 1869. It was needed on other grounds than the necessities of the proposed "female college." The young women were occupying as a dormitory a building that was really required for recitation purposes, the other room available for the purpose not being

even adequate to the number of men in attendance. In presenting the matter to the legislature, the president of the board of regents emphasised this fact; at the same time testifying to the popular dissatisfaction with President Chadbourne's plan of separate education. He said: "The subject of educating young men and young women together has been urged upon the consideration of the regents, but I do not deem it necessary now to say more on that topic than this, that this building is needed whatever system is adopted."

Considering that President Chadbourne intended in this building to lay the material foundation of his female college, the fact that it could not be successfully presented in that light to the legislature was certainly discouraging to him. For the comfortable, and, at the time, even luxurious residence of the women students it was a popular measure. Otherwise the young women would have been removed from the dormitory they already occupied and the needed recitation rooms thus secured. This is what actually occurred a few years later in the case of young men occupying a university dormitory.

An appropriation for the women's dormitory was made—the first general appropriation from the state to the university; and the building was first occupied in the fall of 1871, the year

after the departure of President Chadbourne. Instead of ministering to the needs of a female college, however, "Ladies' Hall," so far as it was used for recitation purposes at all, accommodated the students of both sexes. To the building President Chadbourne had wished to dedicate to the scholastic use of women alone, young men came for recitation as unconcernedly as the young women in turn went to the other college buildings; and his provision for a female college was of practical service to coeducation. In after years the women's dormitory was, by formal action of the regents named "Chadbourne Hall," to the amusement of some alumnæ and the consternation of others with more reverence for historical associations.

Although the practical influence of the female college on the education of the women students by way of separate recitations ceased on the departure of President Chadbourne, its history as a source of possible popular irritation, embarrassment to the regents, and confusion in catalogue announcements continued for several years. Wisconsin's inheritance from his régime was, in this regard, not wholly desirable; the principal disadvantage being in a mistaken idea of the origin and early history of coeducation at the university.

Looking forward to a new administration the

board of visitors recommended to the regents in 1870: "It occurred to us that for the securing of the best advantages of liberal education, the *administration of the dual* organisation of the university needs revising in some respects; but as it requires wiser heads than ours to indicate the best course, we confidently leave the matter to your superior wisdom with only this passing reference."

Again in 1871, the visitors voiced public sentiment as follows: "Your committee would also suggest the propriety of allowing the ladies and gentlemen pursuing the same studies to unite in classes together. Accepting the fact that they are to be educated together, we fail to see the necessity of having a distinct department known as the 'female college.' Such an arrangement would save the time and strength of the professors, and would accord with general public sentiment." It must be said that this department was now chiefly apparent in the catalogue, and that the visitors' report was more influenced by this advertisement than by the actual condition of the university.

These hints were sufficient to bring an expression from the regents. Dr. Twombly was elected president in 1871, but he had had no chance to outline a policy; and the regents wished to inaugurate no revolutionary measures without his

consent or recommendation. In a report for the year ending September, 1871, the president of the board discussed coeducation at considerable length, testifying to general public interest in the subject, to fears on social grounds, and finally to the justice of a free presentation of equal opportunities to all. The report is an interesting attempt to prepare for action in any possible emergency that may be incident to a new régime. Although separate recitations had been discontinued at this time, and all other evidence of a "distinctive character" had disappeared, the "female college" name still appeared in the catalogue. The report of 1871 referred to, stated, in regard to this college, that the board "has not been able in full meeting to lay down distinct rules for its governance, but in advance of such meeting, instructions have been given to the president of the university to adopt such a course as will preserve its distinctive character as a female college. As such and under its present control we believe it will take rank with the highest in the land. The growing conviction in the public mind for many years back, that very many avocations might be fairly opened to women who had thus far in the history of the race been debarred from them, has borne fruit in a liberal acquiescence to woman taking her place in the acquisition and practice of some of the

scientific professions. An offshoot of this tendency of opinion is the theory now advanced of educating the sexes together in all the departments of academic and college pursuits. This subject of co-education is one that has its advocates in every village and county of the state, has been frequently brought to the attention of the regents, and has received from them attentive consideration. It is vehemently urged, that in their collegiate course no distinction should be drawn between the sexes, that in study, in discipline, in recitation, and lectures, the women should be required to take their places on the same footing as the men. The chief reasons alleged by the advocates of this system are its refining influence upon the men, the great stimulus to study to both sexes, and furthermore that the system has been found to work admirably in the schools and academies at home. These arguments have great force when applied to students at home, where they pass from the control and oversight of the parents directly to that of the teacher, and then back again to the family. It is very different when several hundred young men and women from different parts of the state, strangers to each other, meet at the university as college students, thrown together for a course of several years of study and college life. In such a case the continued guardianship exercised by the

parent and teacher is removed, and the students left much to their own discretion and propriety of conduct; while any dereliction or failure to meet the just expectation of their friends would be charged directly to the university. It is for these reasons that the instructions have been given to carry out a system of education for the female college which, while it opens every department of the university to both sexes alike, yet leaves to the choice of the lady students as ambition or taste may dictate, to pursue in their own college under lady teachers, or with the regular college classes, the studies in which they desire full accomplishment. This course I feel assured will commend itself to the friends of education; for, while it complies fully with the organic law of the university in extending equal privileges to male and female students, it is yet a conservative course midway between the theories of those who would ride a hobby to personal popularity, and that of fogyism which yields nothing to the demands of a growing public opinion."

Economy has been emphasised by some educators as the principal argument for coeducation in its origin. Indeed, President Van Hise has said: "The reasons which led to coeducation were then purely economic. The western states in these early days were too poor to support two high

grade institutions." [1] While the fact stated as to poverty in "early days" and at present is undoubtedly true, there is nothing in the history of coeducation in Wisconsin to show that the provision there made for women was influenced by this condition. The report quoted mentions the salutary influence of women, the stimulus to study, and experience, as the reasons urged upon the regents by the public. These reasons were all operative in Wisconsin before there was any great demand made by women themselves. Economy in providing for the great number of women desiring education was not, in the origin of the present system, influential in Wisconsin. It had far less influence in introducing coeducation than it would have to-day in preserving it.

It is interesting to note in the regents' report for 1871 that the only argument advanced against coeducation five years before, based upon the mental inferiority of women, is changed to a recognition of the "stimulus to study to both sexes" which their union in the class room induces; and also that the only argument now advanced against the system is the danger of impropriety of conduct, although nothing in the history of the university is cited as justifying this objection. The fact is that at this time the regents were in

[1] *Educational Review*, xxxiv., 509.

ignorance as to what President Twombly's policy would be, and were forced to handle the "female college" tenderly, as possibly to be revived in his régime.

Although President Twombly had been instructed before the fall of 1871 to "adopt such a course as will preserve the distinctive features of a female college," his ideas most certainly did not agree with those of Dr. Chadbourne; for, from the fall of 1871, no provision for separate recitations for men and women received any attention from the students or professors.

A review of the first decade of coeducation in Wisconsin shows that, in 1860, women were received for the short normal course. In 1863 they entered its newly organised normal department, with the privilege of attending and reciting in any class they might elect. In 1868 a female college was organised for them with a course of study which they ignored. From 1869 to the present day they have taken the same degrees in the college of letters and science which the men receive, with the full privilege of degrees in any other department or college that has been organised. During the three years of Dr. Chadbourne's office, their recitations were usually though not universally separate, and they very generally attended the class lectures given to the men

students. After 1870, there was absolutely no distinction in any way, excepting separate commencement exercises which were abolished in 1874; and a female college list in the catalogue, which had absolutely no relation whatever to their work or privileges, and which was abandoned in 1873. This, with the separate recitations for three years, had been a concession to the conservatism of a single man; and after his departure it remained for several years as a memorial to his ideal of what a woman's education should be. This ideal was contrary to the sentiment of the people, and to the policy and practice of the university. It required an amendment to the state laws to make its trial possible. When it was presented to the young women, they repudiated it, and each commencement day but one after 1868, found them ready for the regular college degree which they had earned.

It is unfortunate that with its absolute desuetude in 1870, the female college was not removed from the university catalogues, for it was there most fertile in causes of confusion. Since many of the young women enrolled in this college persisted, even in President Chadbourne's time, in scattering themselves through the regular four years' course in the college of letters and arts, it became necessary to differentiate these students; and those

who had ventured farthest in intellectual pastures were, in the catalogue of 1871–72, enrolled as senior, junior, sophomore, and freshmen students. These constituted about one-fourth of all the women in attendance, while about one-third of all the men were enrolled in the corresponding classes of the college of letters and arts. In that year there were reciting together in the regular classes of this college about 250 students of whom 30 % were women. In the preparatory department, 28 % were women. These also recited with the men in the same department.

The catalogue for 1871–72 abandoned the recommendation of any separate course of study for women, stating that their course was "similar to that in the college of arts and is designed to be fully equivalent to it. To meet as far as practicable the tastes of the young ladies and their probable wants arising from peculiarity of vocation, several studies are made elective. In addition to the course prescribed for this college, ladies are allowed to enter the other colleges and departments of the institution and the same degrees are conferred upon them as upon gentlemen for the satisfactory completion of any course of study. . . . Ladies and gentlemen recite together; but, in all departments of the institution, ladies are allowed separate instruction, when

preferred." The electives allowed to the women "arising from peculiarity of vocation," were defined as follows: "In place of surveying, navigation, agriculture, analytical geometry, and the calculus of the sophomore year; and in place of chemistry and analytical chemistry of the junior year, Latin or drawing may be substituted." In an institution which has for thirty-seven years recognised Latin as meeting the "tastes of the young ladies and their probable wants, arising from peculiarity of vocation," it is strange that their election of this study in large numbers should in 1908 give rise in some minds to a serious educational problem. In 1871, however, some of the young women embarrassed the catalogue makers by electing courses in the college of letters, and even invading the precincts hitherto sacred to the masculine pursuit of Greek literature. This was an unforeseen contingency; but it was perhaps a tribute to the dignity of letters that it was considered inconsistent to continue to publish the names of these young women in the female college list. In the next catalogue issued, covering the three terms of 1872–73, and the first term of the following year, the names of three young women were transferred from this list and published with those of the men in the freshmen, sophomore, and junior classes of the ancient classical course. A modern

classical course had just been organised, and the names of two women entering as freshmen in 1872 were published in the list of students enrolled in this course. All other names of women were still included in the "female college" list, though their work was as completely united with that of the men as was the work of the women in classical study.

The publication of all the classical students in a single list caused no comment. The female college list seemed no longer necessary to preserve the dignity of the institution nor that of the women students, and never appeared again. A spasmodic effort was made in a circular of May, 1873, to revive a course specially attractive to women "such as is usually to be had in female colleges, though they are permitted to pursue any course or elective study in the university, and in all departments of the institution when preferred." It is, however, within the writer's personal knowledge that, from the fall of 1872, no student elected any course offered specifically for women, or, in fact, any course other than one provided in the general program for all students.

While the catalogues were struggling to readjust their announcements in harmony with the changes in administration, the regents testified further to the embarrassment caused by having a defunct

"female college" left upon their hands. In their report for the year ending in September, 1872, they stated concerning this college: "In the management of this branch of the university, the regents have endeavoured not only to carry out that provision of the organic law which requires that female students shall have all the advantages of the university, but they have also conceded to them the advantages of a distinct ladies' education. The sexes are not required to recite together; but a preference in this respect, requested by parents and students, is granted to the ladies, and competition for all the honours of the university is open alike to both male and female students.... No serious objections have yet been developed by the arrangement in classes and recitations of the sexes together; neither have any important results been attained showing decided beneficial influences of one sex upon the other. It is but just, however, to say that while the gentlemen students have been studious to a degree rarely witnessed in college, and have made progress accordingly, yet the lady students have shown an equal facility and capacity for acquiring the higher branches of learning. There are many of the latter who, seeking knowledge for its own intrinsic value, believe that the wider experience and more varied attainments of educated men better fit them for thorough teaching than

teachers of their own sex, and such lady students seek admission to the college classes, and strive for its honors. To these the university opens its doors, and welcomes them to its classes and privileges." In regard to the last part of the foregoing it should be said that there were at this time two women instructors teaching college classes including men and women students.

The visitors for 1872 commended the report of the regents, which has been quoted, for its "mingled boldness, prudence, and tact"; and discussed with some grandiloquence women's rights to the advantages of the university. "It is too late, amid the noontide splendours of the nineteenth century, to ignore the claims of woman to higher education. We hold that every human being has a natural and inalienable right to cultivate and use, as circumstances permit, the powers and faculties which the Creator has bestowed. Woman possesses a rational soul, and in this very fact she has a divine warrant for the exercise and improvement of her powers. Her development should be limited only by her capacities and powers. Whatever will make her wiser and better, that she may learn; whatever knowledge she may be able to use, either in adding to her own happiness, or in promoting the happiness of others—that knowledge she may rightfully acquire." After noting the

questions that arise as to the nature of the education desirable for women, and the various methods of securing it, they continued: "These questions, gentlemen, you have bravely and wisely met. You have thrown the doors of the university wide open and ladies are permitted to pursue any course of instruction or elective study in which they may show themselves prepared to enter. If one should wish to take the law course, no interdict of yours will forbid. But you have prescribed a curriculum of study for the ladies' college which will meet the wishes of the great majority of young women. It offers a broad and generous culture in letters, science, and art. At the same time it recognises the feminine character of the student. . . . You have made the ladies' college independent of the other departments of the university so that, when desired, instruction shall be imparted by the professors within the college walls (ladies' hall). This may be well, but as a matter of fact, we believe it will be found that young women who are pursuing the same studies with young men will prefer to share in the same recitations. And we are not surprised to learn that, after a trial of one year, this course has been attended with the most satisfactory results. On careful inquiry, we are convinced that any apprehensions of danger or difficulty from the

coeducation of the sexes are groundless. The evils feared are imaginary; the benefits substantial."

It should perhaps here be stated that each board of visitors is annually appointed; and, in early days, it formed each year an almost wholly new committee. Its members were often not acquainted with the details of the history of the university, but reported their impression of things as they were found at the time of examination.

In the year 1872–73, the action of the young women in quietly taking what they desired wherever they could best find it, a course they had consistently pursued for nearly ten years, was endorsed by the regents in dropping the separate list of women's names which was the only remaining distinctive feature of the female college. It was also endorsed by public sentiment as expressed by the visiting committee. So far as all outward and visible form affected coeducation, it only remained to clarify the ideas of the more conservative members of the faculty, rescue the catalogue from confusion, and combine the two commencement programs into one. This was quickly and effectively accomplished by Dr. John Bascom who succeeded to the presidency in the spring of 1874.

CHAPTER V

PRESIDENT BASCOM'S INFLUENCE

IF President Twombly in relation to the education of women may be considered as a man without a policy, this can be said of neither his predecessor nor his successor. These were as negative and positive poles of a magnet whose neutral mass he represented. Dr. Chadbourne was devoted, energetic, a good administrative officer, a kindly and inspiring teacher. So was Dr. Bascom, but with a great difference in quality. Dr. Chadbourne's teaching made for established fact and tradition, that of Dr. Bascom for mental and spiritual growth. Both were for truth, the former as it had been impressed upon his mind in the process of acquisition, complete and unchangeable; the other as it led human inquiry to fields as boundless as human thought. It was not wholly the difference of breadth in thought; but partly that of the scientific as opposed to the philosophic temperament.

It was inevitable that President Bascom's influence should be most stimulating to the growth

of sentiment for coeducation. His name was associated with this principle before he came to Wisconsin in an attempt to establish it at Williams College where he was an honoured member of the faculty. A committee of alumni had been appointed to report upon its advisability, and in 1872 Dr. Bascom with David Dudley Field presented the minority report in its favour. This report was an eloquent defence of coeducation based upon justice, expediency, and a year's investigation of the experience of institutions where it had been in operation. To fully appreciate the influence of this man's spirit in Wisconsin and compare it with that of President Chadbourne, many things in this report are worthy of attention, although few can be noted.

"As long as the germinal power of the race is with those who, as mothers, stand between us and the invisible intangible forces of creation, we shall do wisely if we look carefully to the copiousness of these physical and intellectual fountains of our strength. . . . If we underfeed and dwarf the intellect of woman, we shall enfeeble her progeny, shall blast and wither the branch on which the fruit of coming years is to hang. God forbid also that we as an assembly of educated men discussing the interests of education should put any unnecessary restriction on any human being in gaining

knowledge whereby the soul knows its own, and reclaims it; knows what is another's, and respects it; what is God's and grants it. . . . Young women require a more thorough, severe, and substantial discipline than that found in female institutions or likely to be found in them, and the effects of such a training on character, on society, and on social questions would be most favourable. . . . An undercurrent of depreciation and contempt often pervades our estimates of female character. . . . Society has need of every productive hand, every warm heart, every wise tongue, and if we find for a large share of these only partial labour and insufficient expression, it is because our social organism is defective; because we do not know how to take up and use the material at our disposal. . . . Nothing is more needful to women than a more solid and fruitful discipline, one that gives a purpose and the power to pursue it; an object in life and the independent ability to realise it. . . . Separate female colleges proceed almost wholly on the idea that the same grade of intellectual discipline is not called for in the training of young women as of young men. . . . The entire experience of the past, its association and prestige are gathered about colleges for the training of men." [After thirty-five years this still appears in the disposition of some educators to

regard even state universities as specially concerned with the interests of men.]

"The public is jealous of the fidelity and adequacy of its male institutions, and but slightly observant of its seminaries and female colleges. . . . So long as men are educated in distinct colleges these will and must be superior to those devoted to women in all that pertains to thorough education and public enthusiasm. . . . At Vassar, Greek is an infrequent option. What is the result? The graduates of that institution are not prepared to take charge even of our high schools. They cannot fit young men for college. . . . Women may swarm in the district school, the grammar school, but they thin out and insensibly disappear when we mount so high as the instruction of a lad of sixteen in the preliminaries of a college course. Women cannot hold their own in education on such degrading terms as these. They must be able to rank with the best, or occupy a position, suffering the constant disparagement of an unfavourable comparison. . . . Here is the most thorough instruction which we have yet attained to, fully established and surrounded by every auxiliary, and it is an outrage to say to one who seeks it, You are a woman, it would not benefit you. Language may be more contemptuous in form but never more contemptuous in substance

than this. . . . There are certain complementary qualities in the male and female mind which fit them for interaction and mutual influence. The intuitive faculties, the sprightly powers of memory belong in a superior degree to women; the reflective faculties, the sluggish logic of experience to men. The driver on our Hoosac Mountain makes up his six-horse team with a lively eye to qualities. . . . How often a teacher wishes for a little of the lively insight and quick sentiment of the nimble female mind, that will not forever drag on in the rut and ditch as if these were God's only highway to truth. . . . Young men want more sentiment and young women want more sense, and God has put them on an interchange of faculties, that both may be in the highest degree fruitful, tempered to the best attainments, and able to enter by the force of each other's completions on fields otherwise closed to them. . . .This common education is in the line of nature and God's providence. . . . Young men in college come from the coeducation of primary schools, and return to the coeducation of society. What sufficient reason can be given for cutting out four years of life, and distinguishing it from every other portion of it in its method of discipline? . . . The young man when he leaves college is apt to find that while he has been educated in some directions,

in others he remains exceedingly ignorant; that his manners show the result of seclusion, and that his tongue, while ready and tripping in the use of college phrases, in other directions is thick and clumsy. The young woman, on the other hand, forms a very rose coloured and unreal estimate of life, has little practical insight into character, is very feebly protected against her first dangers, and, therefore, foolishly prepared for her first duties. If more of the conditions, more of the character, of later life were from the outset before each of the parties of our social drama, we might justly expect more wisdom, more sagacity, and that which opens a comedy would less frequently assume the sombre hues of tragedy. Man's nature or woman's nature is but one-half the complex product of human nature, and the one-half enlarges and interlocks itself safely with the other half, only by the continuous processes of growth, as two trees that have intertwined their branches from the beginning, and together shaped themselves into one harmonious mass. Our present method seems to be to wait rather until growth is complete, till the trees are fully formed, and then force the boughs into each other at all hazards with such fracture of limbs and rending of foliage as may chance."[1]

[1] *Williams Vidette*, July 6, 1872.

To all the arguments that can now be urged for any degree of separate education on any grounds, the report of Dr. Bascom made thirty-five years ago offers a quite sufficient answer. The whole report would now afford instruction much needed by many men who were infants when it was made. New conditions have not changed and can never change its application, for this application is founded on eternal principles of justice and unchangeable qualities of human nature. These principles and qualities can never suffer any other than temporary interference from the advancement of the selfish and egotistical considerations to which all such interference may be logically reduced.

President Bascom's influence on the interests of women in Wisconsin was immediate and extensive. Before this time the progressive influence had come largely from outside the university itself. It represented popular sentiment faithfully manifested by the regents. But popular sentiment and faculty sentiment are not always identical; and in this case the faculty had been acquiescent rather than distinctly favourable. The women realised at once that President Bascom rejoiced in their opportunities; and other members of the faculty, released from the adverse influence of Dr. Chadbourne and the apathy of Dr. Twombly, soon

shared the president's feeling and strengthened the inspiration which this feeling brought to the students.

For other reasons the university welcomed Dr. Bascom. Concerning his election the regents said in the fall of 1874, that they were "more than satisfied with the change"; and the first board of visitors under his régime began their work in "a spirit of criticism" and finished it with "an interest akin to enthusiasm." They congratulated the regents upon their choice of a "man who has earned a national reputation as an original thinker, able writer, ripe scholar—a man who brings to this responsible office a long experience and peculiar aptitude in teaching, combined with the needed executive ability, and an instinctive hatred of all pretence and sham. The fact that he has so soon succeeded in intrenching himself in the hearts of the pupils and of the citizens of Madison confirms the judgment of the regents, that he is the right man in the right place."

Those graduates of Wisconsin who came to know President Bascom intimately can realise the justice of the above estimate; and testify to the personal power of a man who could in a few months so forcibly impress the exact qualities of his personality upon strangers.

The same report of the visitors, made in Sep-

tember, 1874, contains much that was based upon observation in the class room: "To some of the visitors, the presence of young ladies in the same classes with the gentlemen was a novelty, and therefore incited them to a careful scrutiny into the practical workings of the coeducational idea. They were especially observant on this point, that they might get light on a subject which provokes so much antagonistic discussion. They took particular notice of the recitations of the young ladies in Latin, Greek, logic, and mathematics, that they might see whether there were any less vigour of thought, less mental grasp, less mastery of these subjects of which gentlemen have hitherto claimed a monopoly; and in justice to the ladies they must here bear testimony to the fact that no such discovery was made, but rather the discovery of their ability to prosecute the same course of study as the young men, and with equal prospect of benefit, success, and honour. We are not required to pronounce upon the wisdom or unwisdom of the coeducation of the sexes, but only to speak of what we saw. We are not sorry, however, that the state of Wisconsin is aiming to settle by actual experiment, a problem which the friends of liberal education in many other states are resolved to limit indefinitely to the field quite largely of *a priori* discussion. We do

not hesitate to express our conviction that the young ladies of our state can here obtain a thorough, varied, and finished education." Referring favourably to the commencement, which "occupied two successive mornings," the report concludes, that "it was a beautiful and touching spectacle to see so large a class of young men and young women receive the honours of the university at the hands of their new president."

Among the events which made this commencement a notable occasion, was the statement by President Bascom to the young women, in conferring their degrees, that it was "intended in another year to have the graduates of the university appear as a unit at commencement, regretting that this year it was necessary to dismiss the ladies as a separate element." This statement of President Bascom's wishes meant more to the young women in the undergraduate body than all may realise. This was not because they would be seen and possibly heard as graduates, for, at general commencement exercises, their position was to be in fact less public and conspicuous than before. His words were an announcement of public adoption by their alma mater, and it was then that their devoted loyalty to her was born.

There was no further occasion in separate commencement exercises for the regret that Presi-

dent Bascom had expressed, and in his report for the first year of his service he said: "The young women have been put, in all respects, on precisely the same footing in the university with the young men. No difficulties have arisen from it. There were eight young women among the graduates at the last commencement (in a total number of 28). Their average scholarship was certainly as high as that of the young men, and they were apparently in good health." It is of interest to recall that at this first commencement when the men and women of the class appeared together, the Lewis prize for the best oration in thought and delivery was awarded to a woman.

In 1876, the regents reported: "No young man or woman of Wisconsin need to look abroad for cheaper or better means of vigorous and elevated mental culture. . . . The university, like the public schools of lower grade, is free to the sons and daughters of all our citizens without prejudice or discrimination. The regents do not understand that the law, in providing an equality of educational privileges, contemplates any special experiments in the matter of coeducation, or the adoption of any rules or regulations founded upon any novel or theoretic view of the personal and social relations of the sexes. The law assumes that young ladies possess the capacity and the

disposition to acquire that degree of knowledge and mental discipline in the study of the arts and sciences which is imparted by a course of collegiate instruction. It assumes no more. It certainly does not assume to approve any method of instruction or discipline contrary to the current and accepted views of the parents who have children to educate."

In 1876, the visitors stated: "The results in this institution, of the experiment of coeducation of the sexes, are such as in no degree to discourage its proponents, but, on the contrary, such as strongly to induce its continuance. . . . In the present senior class (consisting of 19 women and 17 men), the percentage of young women to be graduated with honour in respect of higher scholarship is, relatively to their whole number, decidedly larger than that of the young men; and this disparity is emphasised by the loss, to the latter, of 'the first honour.' Of the ability, therefore, of the formerly called weaker sex, creditably to sustain courses of study hitherto deemed suitable for men only, we are not at liberty, upon present evidence, to doubt. The moral effects of this combination are no less happy. If absence of rudeness and ready subordination in the young men may be in any degree justly ascribed to the restraining presence of the more refined sex, it is as

fairly inferable that the latter must derive from the association, thoughtful disposition, serious purpose, and desire for respect; and, if to the observant presence of either sex is traceable the decorous demeanour or competitive ambition of the other, this alone might well lead to their early association in common pursuits."

During the presidency of Dr. Bascom, coeducation was in the process of assimilation by the university. The first period of active opposition had been passed, and the protests of alarmists in the faculty had been stilled. He found in Wisconsin what appeared, at least to the women in attendance, a spirit, on the part of faculty and men students, of entirely courteous resignation. The first stage of coeducation was not without its stimulus. Something had to be proven. Every recitation, every act was in evidence. Opposition is a greater intellectual stimulus than sufferance. When overcome, it is forgiven, even forgotten.

The second stage in the history of coeducation was possibly more depressing. Courtesy from students and professors was always a matter of course in Wisconsin. This cannot be said of all coeducational institutions, and this courtesy may not at the time have received full justice. It was accompanied by a resignation on the part of

some opponents of the system that was sometimes hard to bear.

Happily this period was of short duration, and the spirit that President Bascom brought with him to Wisconsin gave more than an abiding sense of security. It brought an invitation to enter upon and enjoy in its fulness all that the university could offer. The sympathy with which the standpoint of the women students was immediately recognised made coeducation no longer merely possible, no longer even merely reasonable; it became desirable. The tension of responsibility was relieved by his support. As a matter of course, the young women received the heritage the state had given. Unconsciously and perhaps even carelessly they have continued to receive it in undiminished and undiluted portions to the present day. It is due to President Bascom's influence that the university of Wisconsin was one of the earliest institutions in the country to put coeducation upon an entirely dignified basis, and that the system acquired a stability which caused it to be absolutely unquestioned for more than twenty years after his departure.

The spirit of progress and justice that animated him in relation to coeducation pervaded his whole work. The education received by the students of both sexes from association with him, and those

akin to him in spirit, was more than that received from any other source. This education was not elective,—it was not even consciously received,—but it will endure forever. The influence of any impersonal stimulus is transcended by that of character; and the men and women among Wisconsin's graduates, who had the advantage of President Bascom's direct instruction, and who shared the stimulus and inspiration of his presence in the class room, in college meetings, and the social life of the university, will never regret that they belonged to a favoured educational generation when a close personal relation with their instructors was common. They will never cease to hope for their university an ideal condition of a federation of departments or smaller colleges, each to form a circle of fellowship in which all the students are well within the radius of the spiritual influence of its faculty, and the binding circumference of a mutual respect and good will for each other. For the young women now in the university, and eventually to be found there, the alumnæ can wish no greater gift than the same unconsciousness of difficulty, the same security that their standpoint is sympathetically recognised and adequately fortified that President Bascom brought to the women of the university thirty years ago.

CHAPTER VI

THE HEALTH OF COLLEGE WOMEN

WHILE the advantages enjoyed by women in Wisconsin were progressing favourably under President Bascom's guidance, a cloud gathered which threatened to inundate their fair field of labour with the prejudices which were really at the foundation of President Chadbourne's opposition to coeducation. These prejudices were now, however, not to be limited to theoretical exploitation but were to be fortified by actual observation; and it is fortunate indeed for the women of Wisconsin, that, as one man had before interfered with their advancement, so now one man was to meet the objections of their would-be protectors with firmness and practical wisdom.

In 1877, two contrasting pictures were presented of the college women. The first was in an address by James L. High a distinguished alumnus of the university to the alumni association, and presented the impression made in his college days on students returning from service in the army, and finding women so largely in possession of the intellectual field. "They came like an army with banners,

conquering and to conquer. They came with bewitching curls, and dimpling cheeks, and flowing robes and all the panoply of feminine adornment; and worst of all, they came to stay."[1]

The second representation was a much more prosaic and equally graphic description of the appearance of the women students, included in the official report of the board of visitors. This report contained the following observations on coeducation and its results: "It is now several years since the experiment of the coeducation of the sexes was begun in the university. In respect to the proficiency shown by the young women in the several classes during the recent examinations, our impressions coincide with former boards of visitors. They sustained the test at least as creditably as the young men; and if there was a difference, we are inclined to think that it was in favour of the young women. In the main, they excelled in the promptness and precision with which they responded to questions. We were, however, deeply impressed with the appearance of ill health which most of them presented. It would not seem probable that, by mere coincidence, so many young women should be congregated together offering this peculiarity. There are a few notable ex-

[1] *The Madison Democrat*, June 20, 1877.

ceptions, but, as a whole, this appearance is unmistakable, and has given rise to considerable comment among the members of the board." The appearance referred to was described as a "condition of bloodlessness which is so noticeable in the women of the university at this time. The sallow features, the pearly whiteness of the eye, the lack of colour, the want of physical development in the majority, and an absolute expression of anæmia in very many of the women students, all indicate that demands are being made upon them which they cannot meet." Here was certainly a most uncomplimentary and disheartening picture, and for years after its publication its phrases were by-words among the young women of the university dormitory.

The board of visitors industriously sought for the cause of the condition they described: "There can be nothing about the hygienic condition of the university, in any of its parts, which would give rise to ill health. Every part examined presented an appearance of cleanliness; the food in the ladies' hall was wholesome and well prepared; the service rooms clean; the dormitory well lighted and aired, and of sufficient capacity. We are, therefore, compelled to look elsewhere for the cause." It is of interest to recall that there was at this time absolutely no provision made for

ventilating the dormitory referred to. A large double bed nearly filled each sleeping apartment. All private rooms of students were heated by air-tight stoves and lighted by kerosene lamps. As the only service provided in these rooms was that of filling wood boxes, their condition of cleanliness was, to say the least, not uniform. Carpets were securely fastened over all floors. Three bath rooms were provided for about ninety persons and the closets connected with a cesspool near the building. The kitchen and dining-room were in the basement, food was stored in underground closets without light or ventilation, and milk stood in open pans on the shelves.

A further apology for the unprepossessing appearance of the young women may be presented in the words of the board of visitors only three years later, referring to University Hall where all recitations were then held: "University Hall is deemed to be sanitarily unfit for use, through its deficient original construction, and the utter absence of any pretence of ventilation, coupled with the primitive method of defective warming by stoves. The building is peculiarily exposed to the rigours of winter; containing the class rooms for literary work, with hundreds of young persons moving through its frigid corridors from recitation to recitation every hour, it presents many of

the discomforts of a barbarous age; and the loose window stops, door-jambs, and open stoves afford means for a noisy draft of air, to add to the inconvenience of heavy stone walls chilling the life blood. . . . . Your board is earnestly recommended to warm and ventilate this building." Surely this building produced in 1880 as great excitement as the women students had caused among the visitors of 1877.

These visitors, however, overlooked the condition that roused their immediate successors. "Compelled to look elsewhere," they found relief in their medical text-books, and the physiology of sex. "Every physiologist is well aware that, at stated times, nature makes a great demand upon the energies of early womanhood, and that at these times great caution must be exercised lest injury be done — an injury which, it is well known, may prove permanent. In order to keep place in the university classes, where the sexes are educated together, no account is taken of the fact that the woman labours under a double disadvantage as compared with the man; first, in the circumstance that nature compels compliance with its well established laws and, as above stated, makes demands upon her energies; and, second, that to keep her class standing the girl must devote more energy, and consequently work harder

to accomplish her task, making drafts upon her system, which by the very nature of the case is already taxed to meet the physiological demands made upon it. It is also well known that overwork, in whatever way induced, at the times indicated generally manifests itself by bloodlessness followed by a train of evils which it is not necessary here to enumerate."

Although we are spared a description of this train of evils, the board could not refrain from presenting the nation's peril, and proceeded to prophesy that the intellectual sins of the mothers would be visited upon their children according to the medical canons of inheritance and disease germs then in vogue. "Education is greatly to be desired, but it is better that the future matrons of the state should be without a university training than that it should be procured at the fearful expense of ruined health; better that the future mothers of the state should be robust, hearty, healthy women, than that by overstudy they should entail upon their descendants the germs of disease."

These heralds of disaster concluded the subject by recommending to the regents that the "curriculum be so ordered . . . that each sex should be enabled to secure that form of education best fitted to his or her respective sphere, and

that the system of compelling men and women to fare alike might be so modified as to preclude the possibility of causing disease." Their reason is repeated that, "they are forced to the conviction . . . that as a class the women present undoubted evidences of physical deterioration."

This board had certainly been most industrious and painstaking; and it is a pity that they could not have foreseen that in 1908 more than 95 % of all the women graduates since 1869 would have survived the consequences of the educational system to which they had been subjected. "And there is no more certain law than that of inheritance," exclaimed this excited board. Now many children of these women have, as students in the university, borne witness to the fact that scholarly tastes are more evident in the inheritance entailed upon them than "the germs of disease," and that coeducation has not seriously interfered with the development of the race.

But the visitors of 1877 were not wholly without counsel and consolation. To them the regents promptly replied: "The argument of the board of visitors relates more directly to the degree of education which female students are physically enabled to acquire within a given time, than to the expediency of coeducation in the abstract. We are furthermore assured, in a semi-official way, that

the board of visitors do not wish to be understood as recommending a denial of any of the existing privileges of the university to any class of students, but as suggesting simply such modifications in the courses of instruction as will render them available to female students who may prefer less exacting mental labour and a minor degree of culture.

"It is not claimed that the problem of coeducation has been finally determined in its relation to capacity for mental culture, and still less in its relation to the personal association of the sexes in our universities. Nor is this problem in either respect one which can or ought to be determined upon special data, or upon limited observation and experience, here or elsewhere. The whole civilised world is concerned in the experiment, and by the final judgment of all parties to the controversy we shall be forced to abide. However that may be, no doubt ought to obtain as to the duty of the university to maintain that higher standard of instruction, by which alone it can claim an honest title to its proper rank and name; and if unfortunately there are students or classes of students, unfitted by nature or preparatory training for that extent of progress and intellectual development necessary to entitle them to the honours and rewards of university education,

obviously their place is elsewhere. This view is further enforced by the fact that, by the law and theory of its organisation, the university occupies a specific position in the general plan of public education, with duties limited to a special plane of educational service. Between its work, and that of the common school, the high school, the private school, the academy or the boarding school, there is justly no conflict or confusion of energy, and can be none while neither seeks to usurp the proper functions of the other."

There is here no hint of a possible revival of the female college, or any other form of separate provision; there is rather a just and indisputable statement of the duty of the state and its institution on one hand; and, on the other, the liberty and obligation of the student, who cannot be accommodated by the legal provision made, to find a "place elsewhere." The advantages of a private school or boarding school are to be conceded to neither physical or mental infirmity. The intimation is plain that it is not the province of the university to consider these infirmities; and the inference naturally follows that the personal prejudice or preference of students would be dealt with on the same basis as their other infirmities. Altogether the regents seem to have met the situation reasonably and sensibly.

But the president of the university was still more assuring and convincing. His defence of the privileges of the young women was so conclusive, that for more than thirty years no voice was raised in criticism of coeducation in Wisconsin. He first referred to the young women as those who "easily maintain their rank in scholarship with the young men, and constitute an entirely satisfactory portion of our students."

He then answered the visitors' report: "Our thanks are due to the board of visitors that they did not allow their critical function to suffer by disuse. Nor perhaps are criticisms to be regarded as less valuable, because they are not altogether palatable. It is not to be expected that we should clearly see or freely acknowledge all our faults. We are in this condition in reference to a portion of the criticisms of the board. . . . One thing we profoundly regretted in the report of the board of visitors, and that was the opinion expressed by them as to the health of the young women. There were some passing appearances arising from the excessive studiousness of a few not naturally strong that gave the criticism a colour of truth, and were, doubtless, the grounds of the conviction in the minds of the committee. These reasons however, were very partial and by no means sufficient for the broad conclusions drawn from

them; conclusions arising from exceedingly limited observation, and which did not command the assent of all the committee. We regret these opinions because they tend to open a controversy just closed, and to compel us to travel a second time over ground already painfully trodden, and this with the prospect of no other or better issue than that already reached. To be pushed back into the water when we have just reached shore is trying.

"The faculty, most of whom were in the outset opposed to coeducation and who have had years of observation both as to its relation to education and to the health of the young women, pronounce earnestly and unanimously in favour of the maintenance of our present method. Contrary to the opinion of the visitors, the young women do their work with less rather than greater labour than the young men, and certainly do not fall below them in any respect as scholars. We also believe this labour to be done by them with perfect safety to health, nay, with advantage to health if ordinary prudence is exercised. The young women whose health was primarily the ground of criticism have improved in strength rather than deteriorated since they have been with us, though they have burdened themselves with extra work which we do not counsel.

"We confess to some surprise that so many of the medical profession bring forward for the first time in connection with coeducation a function familiar from the dawn of human life, as if it had the force of a fresh discovery in putting down this form of progress, when in fact it has no more to do with coeducation than with separate education; can as well be provided for in the one form of instruction as the other; and bears with ten-fold force against the labours of women as operatives, clerks, teachers, and housekeepers in which callings their continuous hard work has been allowed to pass unchallenged.

"Though my conviction has been, previous to this report, that the health of the young women as a whole was better than that of the young men, and that there were striking instances of graduation among the young women with robust strength, I am striving to test this opinion by facts, so far with the following result: All excuses for ill health are given by me. The exact number of students in our collegiate and dependent courses is 357. Of this number, 93 are young women, a trifle more than one quarter. During the past eight weeks, the most trying months in the year for students, there have been 157 days of absence from ill health on the part of the young men, and 18 on the part of the young women. The

young women should have lost, according to their numbers, 54 days or three times as many as they have actually lost. The students were not aware that any such registration was being made. It may be felt that the young men are less conscientious in pleading ill health than the young women, and this is doubtless true; but I sharply question a young man, and rarely ask any questions of a young woman. I explain the facts in this way: The young men are not accustomed to confinement, and though sunbrowned and apparently robust, they do not endure the violent transition as well as women. Study is more congenial to the habits of young women, and the visiting committee are certainly mistaken in supposing that they have to work harder to accomplish their tasks. The reverse is true. In addition to the above bill of ill health against the young men, a correspondingly large number has been compelled from the same cause to leave the university altogether.

"A second showing of the registration which I had not contemplated, but one very interesting, is this; the absences of the young women are almost exclusively in the lower classes. Of the eighteen, two are in the subfreshman, fourteen in the freshman, one in the sophomore, and one in the senior classes. The absences of the young men are evenly distributed, on the other hand, through

the whole course. The young women then do not seem to deteriorate with us in health but quite the opposite. I do not belong to the number of those who set lightly by health. I would not sacrifice any measure of it to scholarship; but it has long seemed to me plain, that a young woman who withdraws herself from society, and gives herself judiciously to a college course, is far better circumstanced in reference to health than the great majority of her sex. . . . I repeat my thanks to the visiting committee for their labours, and have no doubt that even the mistakes which such boards may inadvertently make will ultimately be productive of more knowledge and more safety."

The report of President Bascom is quoted at length because the objection to coeducation which it answers is still occasionally made, and because it so well illustrates his progressive spirit, his painstaking care, and his fearless defence of a principle of education he believed to be founded in justice. It would have been very easy at this crisis in the history of coeducation to make some concession to the sentiment expressed by the visiting board that would have resulted in seriously limiting the opportunities of women. There was no long period of experience to justify coeducation, and with a president who did not

base his opinion on the broad principle of justice to all, or with a board of regents who did not clearly see the relation of a public institution to all the people, modifications in the system of education would have been inevitable.

As it was, President Bascom's prediction of good to follow was actually the result of the visitors' report of 1877. "More knowledge" of woman's physical and mental capacity, "more safety" to her educational interests were ensured. The subject is, however, of interest to each new generation of men, and in the spring of 1908 the head of the educational department of the university of Wisconsin published the statement regarding coeducation, that "the critics are found on every side. Physicians quite generally agree that the girl should not be subjected to precisely the same education as the boy, especially after the high school period is reached. Sociologists and educators think the spheres of men are different in some fundamental respects which should require somewhat different educational training."[1] It is certainly not out of place, under these circumstances, to review somewhat fully Wisconsin's history in this regard.

In 1878, the visiting board said: "We do not concur in the criticism made by some, upon the system

[1] *Wisconsin Journal of Education*, April, 1908.

of coeducation, and we are, on the whole, not ill-pleased with the evidence of physical strength on the part of the ladies; but we think there is much yet to desire in that respect. There should be provision for regular and vigorous exercise for the female pupils, and for systematic cultivation of their health and strength."

In the same year, President Bascom reported: "The record of health, kept through the year, shows, especially in the upper classes, less interruption in work by ill health among the young women than among the young men. In the last senior class the young women were one-fourth the whole number. Their absences from sickness were one-tenth. In the junior class the first ratio was one-fourth, the second one-sixth. In the sophomore class, the first was one-fourth, the second one-eleventh. We certainly see no proof that the health of the young women suffers with us from their work. There are clear indications to the contrary."

The regents expressed their agreement with the sentiments that have been quoted. "The observations contained in the last report of the board of visitors, herewith transmitted, in regard to the coeducation of the sexes, are in harmony with the views of the regents. As they associate together in almost every other walk in life, in

the social and domestic relations, it would seem to be more in accord with providential designs and the laws which society has framed for them, that they should be educated together. At all events, the attempt should be thoroughly tested before it is abandoned."

The visitors reported in 1879: "It seems to the visitors that the work of discipline has been made easier by the presence of both sexes. So far as discovered, no disadvantages have arisen from this union in the class-room, while many advantages have accrued. The scholarship of the young ladies, as a whole, appears to be fully equal to that of the other sex."

In 1880, the same committee said: "The members of the committee find themselves in accord on the subject of educating young men and women together. The naturalness and justice of this method have long been demonstrated by argument and at last confirmed by experience. We need to add nothing in its defence or favour. We find the scholarship of the young ladies compares favourably with that of the young men. We find the health of the former averages well with the latter, and very favourably in comparison with that of young ladies pursuing their studies elsewhere, engaged in other avocations, or discharging their duties to society. We shall deem it a serious

mistake and a step backward, should any action be taken or advocated looking to the restriction of the privileges for an education now possessed by young ladies, or any abandonment of the system as now carried on."

Here the matter rested for six years when the visitors again reported: "In the commencement exercises, as in all the other work of the college year, the young ladies seem to have been accorded the same privileges as the young men, and it must be said that they have acquitted themselves with equal credit. It gives us pleasure to state as a result of our observation that the young ladies of the graduating class had borne their full share of the intellectual work in the college course, and that they had done so without detriment to their health. On the contrary, they impressed us as young ladies having more than average health and physical vigour."

Very little public comment has been made upon the health of the young women during the last twenty years. The systematic physical instruction that has been given during that time has done much to improve their physical condition. In 1900, the visitors stated: "Your committee finds that the health of the young women is improved and their physical strength increased while in attendance at the university."

Dr. Julius Sachs said in 1908: "There have been prepared pseudo-statistics of all kinds to prove that the health of girls has not suffered under the strain of this competitive work. . . . To such statistics absolutely no value attaches. They are based upon unscientific records, upon personal impression, upon partisan predilections. Sheer intellectuality has robbed some women of the capacity to estimate the attendant dangers; theory overrides obvious points of differentiation."[1] Whatever may be said of the foregoing statement it certainly appears to suffer more from "partisan predilection " than "sheer intellectuality."

In spite of its severe characterisation of statistics prepared by women, it is of interest to compare the relative number of deaths among the men and women who have graduated from the university since 1869. In this comparison, there is represented in the case of each sex, the ratio of deaths to the whole number graduated. The ratio in case of the women is almost absolutely accurate; that of the men is based upon general catalogue reports published in 1906, and makes very little allowance for men who have died within the past two years. Personal knowledge in their case does little to supplement the published record.

[1] "The Intellectual Reactions of Coeducation," *Educational Review*, xxxv., 472.

If this knowledge were more complete, there would undoubtedly appear a still greater advantage for women in the comparison.

Classes included	% Deaths Men	Women	Classes included	% Deaths Men	Women
1869	11.1	33.3	1869–88	17.6	13.6
1869–70	29.2	28.5	1869–89	16.6	13.6
1869–71	26	36.3	1869–90	15.7	13
1869–72	27.6	31	1869–91	14.8	12.4
1869–73	27.8	31	1869–92	13.9	12
1869–74	27.8	30	1869–93	13.1	11.1
1869–75	30.2	23.7	1869–94	13.1	10
1869–76	28.9	19.3	1869–95	12.2	9.5
1869–77	28.1	17	1869–96	11.3	9.2
1869–78	26.2	18.5	1869–97	10.6	8.7
1869–79	24.2	16	1869–98	10.	8.1
1869–80	23.5	16.1	1869–99	9.5	7.4
1869–81	22.2	15.5	1869–00	8.8	7.3
1869–82	20.7	15.4	1869–01	8.2	7.2
1869–83	20.9	15.4	1869–02	7.8	6.5
1869–84	19.9	14	1869–03	7.2	6
1869–85	19.2	14.7	1869–04	6.8	5.5
1869–86	18.2	14.1	1869–05	6.6	5.2
1869–87	18.4	13.7	1869–06	6.2	4.8

From 1865 to 1869, women were graduating from a four years' course as normal students. Of these graduates 20%, and of the men graduated from corresponding classes in the college of letters and science 25%, have died.

The history of the university of Wisconsin in regard to the health of its women students seems to illustrate the words of Dr. Andrew S. Draper, commissioner of education of the state of New York and for ten years president of the university

of Illinois. In an article on coeducation published in 1903 he said: "There is nothing like a practical demonstration to double up the theories of people who know so much about things they never saw."

CHAPTER VII

SEGREGATION

DURING the first twenty-four years after women were admitted to the university of Wisconsin, that is before 1887, all imaginable objections to coeducation were satisfactorily disposed of by actual experience. First, the prejudice of the men in the student body against the system, being ignored, so subsided after the first four or five years of this period, that it was absolutely unappreciable. No one doubts that had this prejudice been encouraged by allowing to these students the privilege of separate recitations for themselves, it would have increasingly manifested itself, and that coeducation would never have been established in Wisconsin. No case is known in the history of education where this option allowed to the men students has resulted in coeducation.

James L. High, a distinguished alumnus of 1864, has testified to the feeling of the men students in his time: "The feeling of hostility was exceedingly intense and bitter. As I now recollect the entire body of students were without

exception opposed to the admission of the young ladies, and the anathemas heaped upon the regents were loud and deep. Some of the students left for other colleges, and more of us were restrained only by impecuniosity from following their example. During the remaining year of my own college life the feeling of intense and bitter indignation caused by the change continued almost unabated." [1] The results of allowing these men the option of separate recitations may readily be determined. To the statement quoted the speaker added that, at the time of his address in 1877, the feeling described had so wholly disappeared as to be difficult to imagine.

The prejudice of the women in Wisconsin's early history was never shown, but quite the contrary in their repudiation of the provision made for separate instruction in the female college. It is notable that this provision had been made before the state contributed to the support of the university, when it was a matter of much uncertainty as to how the institution could be maintained. So far from economy being the necessity which led to women being admitted to the university, the state showed every disposition toward making extravagant provision for a preference for separate instruction on the part of the young women al-

[1] The *Madison Democrat*, June 20, 1877.

ready admitted. No one doubts that had women then availed themselves of the opportunity offered, separate provision would, for a time at least, have been made for them at any cost. It now seems a plausible proposition to offer this option to both sexes alike. But men and women are not upon the same basis in regard to this election. The original offer of this option to one sex and not the other was a forcible recognition of the difference in the interest of the sexes in this regard. The refusal of the women of the alternative of separate education offered to them was a further recognition of the difference and of their appreciation of it. If the same offer would have a different result to-day, it simply means that a few women are seeking from the state what it has no right to tax the people to provide, that is special provision for a special class which the experience of forty years has shown to be unnecessary. Women desiring a thorough education know that their interests would ultimately suffer from separate instruction, and the state may not justly consider the interests of any other than serious-minded students.

The option offered in 1869 was a result of the struggle against the principle of coeducation originating in President Chadbourne's influence. It sought to continue as possible what he had begun

as necessary. It was not offered to satisfy any prejudice or preference of any class of students, for in that case it would have been offered to both sexes. Such a ground is absolutely untenable in public education. The present system of coeducation having been proved by experience to be for public policy, to recognise any private or personal objection to it is on a par with giving oriental students separate instruction because they may, for example, object to the odour of other races. An illustration of this inconsistency has recently been given by Dr. Bascom: "A young man comes to the university and says, 'I like your course in politics but I am a Norwegian, and I observe that this course is mainly taken by Germans. Can't I have a course attractive to those of my own nationality?' The answer would be: 'We arrange our instruction not in reference to Americans or Norwegians or Germans, but in reference to adequate knowledge. We are a coeducational institution, and strive simply to give each person the most effective means of education. This is our exclusive object and we cannot undertake to adapt our methods to the feelings of different classes. Such an effort might often interfere with our primary purpose.'" [1]

[1] The *Madison Democrat*, April 12, 1908.

The second objection, the mental incapacity of women, was disposed of before 1870 by the constant raising of the standard of work at the university in spite of their presence.

Third, the health of the young women was shown to be fully equal to all the necessary demands upon them. Indeed, so far as present observation serves, their health has been, in a most unexpected degree, equal to the unnecessary demands incident to a withdrawal of all restraint upon their social life.

Fourth, no complications of discipline followed the admission of women; but, rather, a general relaxation of the rules and restrictions upon the conduct of the students, which had been previously considered necessary and salutary. This relaxation is a very general one throughout all educational institutions, and that coeducation could favourably endure its consequences was a result as gratifying as it was in the outset unexpected.

All the foregoing facts were amply supported by all the authorities of the university twenty years ago; and no controversy has risen regarding them in the past twenty years. This experience of forty years is also evidenced by President Van Hise. In the address before the National Association of Collegiate Alumnæ delivered in

Boston on November 6, 1907, he said: "None of the evils and few of the difficulties which were suggested against coeducation in advance of its trial have been confirmed by experience." He particularly specified, as almost universal in coeducational institutions, the maintenance of a high moral standard; the constant improvement of intellectual standards; and the "normal fraternal relations prevailing between the men and women," whereby "the presence of the women in the class rooms and on the campus is regarded as perfectly natural." He also stated that his words regarding the maintenance of the intellectual standards had, within the year, been sustained by "a score of letters from state university presidents."[1] He did not mention the health of the young women, but his testimony on the other points agrees precisely with that of the reports of thirty years past which have been quoted.

Coeducation and higher education generally have precisely the same effect in relation to physical and intellectual endurance, and the experience that convinces so conservative a man as President Eliot of Harvard may be taken as sufficiently conclusive on these points. At the meeting of collegiate alumnæ already referred to, he declared his complete conversion to the opinion, "We

[1] *Educational Review*, xxxiv., 510 and 511.

have learned by actual trial that young women can learn all the more difficult subjects of education just as well as young men; and there is some evidence to show that on the average they will master these subjects better than the average young men." [1] His former apprehensions that if "young women of eighteen years of age or so studied in colleges three or four years, such study would have serious ill effects on their health, and on their fitness for their natural functions in after life, have not been justified." [1] On the contrary, it is apparent to him that these young women can do this work, "not only not impairing their physical vigour, but all the time improving it if they live wisely and under right conditions." [1] President Eliot thinks this is "a great deal to have learned in a single generation"; and, while it is extremely gratifying to feel that the world has learned it, it is even more pleasing to realise that Wisconsin published the evidence of the truth twenty years ago.

All the objections that were raised in Wisconsin before 1870 being disposed of to the satisfaction of the most conservative educators of the country, it is gratifying to know that another fear has been quieted. The pioneers of Wisconsin had

[1] "Woman's Education," *Magazine of Collegiate Alumnæ Association*, February, 1908, pp. 102 and 103.

not attained the ideal which produces this apprehension, or they had more quickly reached a judgment which overcame it. This was the fear that the application of women to higher education "would have some tendency to deprive them of their natural delicacy, refinement, and tenderness." [1] The dismissing of this fear President Eliot also regards as "a considerable achievement for a single generation."

All imaginable practical and sentimental obstacles being removed, it would naturally be concluded that the discussion regarding coeducation and the higher education of women would cease. It did fall into complete oblivion in Wisconsin for more than twenty years, only to be recently revived on what were advanced as new grounds of objection, but are readily resolved into the same old theories advanced by a new generation of men. The educational difficulties now attending coeducation have been stated by the president of the university of Wisconsin as follows: "With the very rapid increase of women in the college of liberal arts of state universities, and indeed their dominance in several, there undoubtedly have arisen educational problems which were never suggested by those who originally opposed coedu-

[1] "Woman's Education," *Magazine of Collegiate Alumnæ Association*, February, 1908, pp. 102 and 103.

cation." The difficulty stated above is no new condition in education. In 1870, the same difficulty would have been stated as follows: "With the great dominance of men in the colleges of liberal arts of state universities it is a serious problem to provide for coeducation." The same solution that was applied for the benefit of women in 1870 would be equally effective to-day. This would be the provision for men, wherever greatly in the minority, of an option of inferior courses to be given by inferior instructors. This solution would be as completely in line with justice, common sense, and the laws of the state as the solution actually proposed, and it would have the advantage of being a perfect protection for coeducation.

A summary of the modifications of the present system that were actually proposed in Wisconsin, as a solution for the difficulties incident to the increase of women in attendance, was published in April, 1908, in the *Wisconsin Alumni Magazine* and Wisconsin newspapers generally. While this publication did not represent any action on the part of the regents or faculty, it may be taken as the most favourable public representation that has been made of the views of those proposing to modify the present system.

The summary is based upon the address made by President Van Hise which has already been re-

ferred to, and which is entitled "Educational Tendencies in State Universities." It has been published in full in the record proceedings of the Alumnæ Association to which it was addressed, in the *Educational Review* for December, 1907, in pamphlet form, and also in part by the Wisconsin press generally. This address has general interest because its author definitely states that "the discussion was not prepared with particular reference to the university of Wisconsin, but was a general consideration of coeducation, based upon facts and opinions furnished me by the presidents of nearly all of the state universities of the country."

The official summary referred to also gives the history of the action which followed the address, from the standpoint of those who favoured the opinions expressed by President Van Hise and the subsequent course which he pursued. It consequently does full justice to the argument for segregation. The summary states: "In the latter part of this address he raised the question whether the neglect of certain subjects, such as political economy by women, and other subjects such as literature by men, could not be remedied by the introduction of some divisions primarily for the women and the men respectively. . . . The head of the department of political economy asked

President Van Hise about this time [November 1907] whether the department of political economy could reserve for women alone one of the five divisions of the course in elementary political economy. The reason for this request was that comparatively few women take the subject in the university, apparently because of the predominance of men in the classes. . . . At the December meeting of the regents, President Van Hise raised the question as to whether there would be any objection on the part of the regents to his granting this request, and similar requests." It should be stated here that the subject had not been brought before the faculty, many of whom were in ignorance that it was being considered. "At the February meeting of the regents the question of the advisability of establishing separate classes for men and women in some subjects was referred by the regents to the faculty of the college of letters and science, as a question of general educational policy for the faculty to discuss and act upon." The record of the regents' meeting shows that this reference to the faculty was really made by a committee of the regents, who, as a body, never acted upon the proposition of such a reference. "At the meeting of the college of letters and science on March 16th, President Van Hise submitted the question whether

the efficiency of coeducation could be increased in the university by separate classes in some subjects now neglected by men and women respectively. . . . The faculty voted to appoint a committee of nine members, representing the departments concerned, with the dean of the college of letters and science as chairman, to investigate the question and report the result of its findings."

The summary calls attention to a petition addressed to the regents, against the proposed change in Wisconsin's system of coeducation, which was being circulated among the graduates; and quotes from an interview regarding his position, which President Van Hise gave out to the press on April 4th, as follows: "I have been in favour of coeducation ever since I have been connected with collegiate work, for I believe that, on the whole, coeducation gives better results, both for men and women, than training in separate classes or institutions. In my recent address . . . in Boston . . . I said: 'Believing as I do that coeducation gives satisfactory scholastic results for both sexes, I am in favour of taking such steps as are necessary to maintain coeducation in full vigour in the college of liberal arts.' . . . In the address just referred to I pointed out that with the increase in the number of wo-

men in the colleges of liberal arts of coeducational institutions, certain courses have become popular with the women, so that they greatly outnumber the men. As soon as this situation obtains there is a tendency for the men not to elect these courses, even if otherwise they are attractive to them. Similarly, there are certain courses which are naturally taken by a large number of men, perhaps with reference to their future career, and there is a tendency for women not to elect these courses because of the overwhelming predominance of men. That this separation is peculiar to coeducation is shown by the fact that in men's colleges languages and literature are popular subjects, while in women's colleges courses are successfully given in political economy and similar subjects." This certainly indicates that separate colleges for men and women are now providing for the needs of students opposed to coeducation. President Van Hise continued: "Even if these separate divisions in some subjects were provided, other divisions of the same classes would still be maintained open alike to men and women. . . . *I do not know of any member of the university faculty who is opposed to the present system of coeducation which gives to men and women alike the fullest opportunity to obtain higher education at the state university.*"

The summary continues with a full publication of the report of the faculty committee referred to, which was made to the regents on April 21st. This report contained the following: "The committee appointed to consider the advisability of separate classes for men and women in certain subjects submits the following report. First, the committee was appointed on the suggestion of President Van Hise, who stated that his purpose was to ask the faculty to consider whether the efficiency of coeducation might not be increased by separate classes in certain subjects. These subjects were mainly those now neglected by a large majority of men and women respectively. . . . Second, at its first meeting after its appointment, the committee agreed that the inquiry assigned to it does not at all involve the general subject of coeducation which is, as it has been for many years, the settled policy of the university. The question is that of an apparently increasing tendency on the part of men to neglect certain important lines of education, and a similar neglect of other important subjects by women. . . . The committee has had as yet insufficient time to study the subject submitted to it. It is, therefore, not prepared at the present time to submit a report on the facts. . . . It is still less ready to recommend a method of bettering them . . . there-

fore, has no expectation of presenting a final report in the near future."

There are several interesting points in the foregoing statement. In the first place, the discussion of proposed modifications in coeducation was by President Van Hise immediately given a very wide public circulation throughout the country generally, and especially in Wisconsin, where a practical application of its principles was soon attempted.

In the second place, the general "consideration of coeducation" in President Van Hise's address at Boston was, as he states, "based upon facts and opinions furnished by the presidents of nearly all the state universities of the country." The subject thus becomes of wide interest. If President Van Hise's conclusions are based upon the opinions of his educational peers in other states, a very general revolution in the present system of public higher education is involved. Three references to other state university presidents are made in the Boston address. One says that "the presence of women does tend to lower the standard of graduate work"; to which statement President Van Hise would "hesitate to assent." Another states that "the women predominate in all the literary courses, and unquestionably are pushing the men out by natural

segregative laws. This expression of opinion is confirmed by similar experiences in other state universities where the women are very numerous." Nothing appears in the Boston address to indicate that these presidents had expressed themselves as to the predominance of men in certain courses; but the president of Washington state university is quoted by President Van Hise as writing, "I am strongly in favour, also of a division of the sexes into separate classes in the departments in which our freshmen and sophomores work. There are in many departments a half-dozen or more sections doing the same work, so that a division can be made with very little difficulty and without added expenditure for the instructional force. In these departments I shall favour, unless our experience goes contrary to my conjecture, the definite plan of separate sections for the men and the women." It is not certain, of course, that three separate institutions are represented by the quotations cited; but the plan seems to have been proposed to "nearly all" and to have been heartily endorsed by at least one. This one may be dismissed from consideration with the statement that it is situated in a very large city of a young state, and that figures given by President Van Hise show that 71% of the students in its college of liberal arts are women. This is certainly very

far from the condition of things in Wisconsin, which is the only other state university, so far as known, which has definitely considered the adoption of a similar plan.

In this connection it is of interest to note the statement of President Jesse of Missouri, made in 1903, in reference to segregation in Chicago: "There is no reason known to me why any university should segregate its women at all unless it be situated in the midst of a large city."[1] President Angell also stated, in a letter written April 13, 1908: "The burden of proof is on those who propose segregation, and I know of no sufficient arguments to sustain their proposition. We have never thought for a moment of resorting to it here. . . . I should suppose the conditions there [Wisconsin] were much the same as here [Michigan], and I know of no reason which can be produced for their project."[2]

Some facts about the change of system in Chicago are of interest. This institution was never committed to coeducation, and no pretence was ever made that the segregation adopted in 1902 was in the interest of that principle. This is made perfectly clear by a letter written by F. T. Gates

[1] "Coeducation in State Universities," *Proceedings of the National Teachers' Association*, 1904, p. 546, Chicago University Press.

[2] *Milwaukee Sentinel*, April 19, 1908.

the executive officer and corresponding secretary of the American Baptist Educational Society. This letter described the conference of prominent Baptist educators and clergymen called "to define the character and scope of an institution of learning in Chicago which would meet in their opinion the approval and active co-operation of the Baptists of the whole country." Among the series of printed questions submitted to this conference was the following: "Should such an institution be coeducative?" Mr. Gates's letter states: "This question admitted of a categorical answer, yes or no. The answer actually given was as follows: 'The privileges of the institution should be extended to both sexes on equal terms.' The committee avoided a categorical answer. In the discussion . . . it was pointed out that certain subjects in the curriculum could better be studied by men and women apart; . . . and that it would be unwise so to phrase the reply to this question as to seem to commit the institution to the necessity at all times and under all circumstances to common classes for the sexes."

He relates that this policy was endorsed by Mr. Rockefeller, and with other provisions became the condition of his first gift; adding, "this then fixed the character of the institution," the whole intention from the outset being to "leave the

institution free to impart instruction to both sexes in the same class room or apart as circumstances might require."[1]

Here is no defence of the new policy as a means of preserving coeducation; but a conclusive statement that this principle was never intended to be the settled policy of the institution as on the contrary all admit it to be in Wisconsin. In discussing a change of policy the Chicago university congregation was not seeking to "increase the efficiency" of coeducation. The question submitted was: "That better educational results would be secured in the junior colleges by teaching persons of the two sexes in separate classes."

The circumstances noted by President Harper as requiring separate classes are: The location of the institution in a great city; the predominance of women students (amounting in November, 1902, to 57% as compared with 41% in Wisconsin); and the youth and inexperience of the students in the junior college.

Another circumstance is of interest as possibly having an indirect bearing on the consideration of the question. This is the relative scholarship of the men and women students. In 1899 when the Phi Beta Kappa society was organised in

[1] *Decennial Publications of the University of Chicago, President's Report*, p. cxii.

Chicago, forty-three women and twenty-nine men were elected to membership. For the quarter ending January, 1900, among students receiving favourable mention for excellence of work in the senior college were eight women and no men, in the junior college seven women and two men; for the next quarter in the senior college five women and two men were so distinguished, in the junior college three women and two men; for the next quarter there were among the honour students two women and six men in the senior college, and one man only in the junior college; the honour students for the next quarter were in the senior college, five women and no men, in the junior college five women and four men. This gives a total in four successive quarters of thirty-five honour students among the women and seventeen among the men. Whatever influence these facts may have had in the discussion, the fear of lowering the intellectual standard by admitting women to competition with men is certainly effectively dispelled.

The third point of interest in the argument for separate instruction is the meaning that is given to the term "coeducation"; and the determination to make it in logic if not in intention analogous to the covering which brings the traditional wolf within the fold. This new

meaning must be taken as not only entirely compatible with a separation of the sexes in education, but as depending upon such separation for its complete development. This is expressed by the committee of the faculty which reported that it was appointed "to consider whether the efficiency of coeducation might not be increased by separate classes in certain subjects"; and that it had "agreed that the inquiry assigned to it does not at all involve the general subject of coeducation." President Van Hise, in his address also said: "It seems to me that in arranging for natural segregation . . . steps will be taken which will be likely to preserve coeducation in the college of liberal arts. That this may remain the situation at Stanford and Wesleyan has been assured by the limitation of the number of women that are admitted.[1] By Chicago the problem has been handled by segregating the women and men for the first two years. I believe a better solution of the problem than these somewhat arbi-

[1] In this connection it should be noted that the course of Wesleyan university did not prove to be "likely to preserve coeducation," as the trustees of that institution voted on February 26, 1909, to exclude women altogether after 1913. The reason for this action has been widely published as the long continued hostility of the undergraduate men to the presence of women. A disposition to favour the tendency toward "natural segregation" was at Wesleyan carried to its logical conclusion.

trary regulations is to provide . . . in the college of liberal arts for separate divisions which to a certain extent may be specialised in those subjects which are attractive to both sexes, as rapidly as experience shows that the plan really enlarges the opportunities for both women and men."[1]

This enlargement of opportunities simply means some system by which students may get what is now offered to them, or a substitute more to their individual taste in the same line, in a way personally more agreeable to them. It is supposed, for example, that a division on sex lines would be the agreeable novelty. But if this should not prove effective the same logic would imply that some other inducement should be offered.

It is seen that under some new definition of the term the coeducation to be preserved depends in some cases upon the limitation, to an unknown degree, of the number of women in attendance at an institution. It readily appears that if this is to be accomplished by a limitation to five hundred women, why would it not be made even more efficacious by a limitation to fifty women or by their exclusion altogether?

Also, if coeducation is preserved by limiting the number of women, it must necessarily be

[1] *Educational Review*, xxxiv., 519.

equally preserved by limiting the number of men and allowing the number of women to increase indefinitely. The preservation of coeducation by the absolute exclusion of women is actually in effect the next method instanced by President Van Hise, in a complete segregation or provision for separate instruction extending presumably over half a college course as in Chicago. The third method of "preserving coeducation," similar in result but recommended only as less "arbitrary," is in providing "separate divisions" as rapidly as these divisions may be desired by any students or members of the faculty.

These quotations are not made as showing inconsistency; but seriously to show that in certain quarters an entirely new meaning is being given to "coeducation"; and that the word is sometimes used to designate what any student may consider an enlargement of his or her educational opportunities, — opportunities refused under present conditions; or what any educator, with the opportunity of specialising instruction according to his private notions, may wish to present to any student as an enlargement of opportunities. Providing all instruction were made as nearly uniform as possible for both sexes, Harvard, Columbia, and Brown universities would under one or the other of the above definitions,

be "coeducational" institutions. The width of a wall has no more influence on the system than the width of a campus; and, so far as the educational question is concerned, the origin of the foundation has no influence upon the matter.

The new definition of "coeducation" was suggested by President Harper in 1901. He said: "It is hardly possible that the full significance of coeducation has yet been appreciated, or that its most complete form has yet been attained. Such forward steps will certainly include (1) a closer definition of the term itself, (2) a larger elective privilege on the part of women as to the extent to which they shall or shall not mingle with men, (3) a similar larger election on the part of the men."[1] It is interesting to note that no one seems to have considered in this plan that each election by either sex modifies the chance of the other in the same election. It is like an educational see-saw, both ends of which are warranted to go up at once.

So far as known there is little confusion as to the proper meaning of coeducation. Dr. C. F. Thwing has said: "Co-ordinate education is not coeducation, for the men and women do not recite in the same classes."[2]

In a report to the overseers of Harvard ad-

[1] *University Record*, 1901–02, p. 307.

[2] *The College Woman*, p. 124, Appleton.

vocating the admission of women to that institution, James Freeman Clarke said: "Coeducation means that the sexes are to be together *in their studies*—that they are to have the same teachers, to be in the same classes, recite together, and contend together for the same rank and honours."[1]

Prof. Wm. I. Goodwin, of Harvard, referred in 1900 to "coeducational colleges in which young men and women are taught in the same classes with equal privileges of every kind. . . . . I know of no one who has authority in this matter either in Radcliffe or Harvard who believes in coeducation in college classes or would do anything to promote it."[2]

President M. Carey Thomas of Bryn Mawr has said: "It is in the women's college of Brown that we find the closest affiliation and accordingly the nearest approach to coeducation. The corporation of Brown furnished the land on which the academic building of the women's college was erected, and accepted the gift of the building when it was completed. The required courses given in Brown are repeated to women by the same instructors. All instruction is given

[1] *The Liberal Education of Women*, p. 236. A. S. Barnes & Co., 1873.

[2] *Harvard Graduates' Magazine*, 1900–01, p. 225.

by Brown instructors, and all graduate work is open to graduate women without distinction."[1] Yet President Faunce wrote to Commissioner Harris in 1900: "I beg leave to state that we do not consider that we have coeducation at Brown. . . . Our men and women do not recite in the same class room, except in very advanced classes, where the number of students is so small that duplication of the work is out of the question."[2]

In 1905 President Harper of Chicago distinguished between "coinstruction" and "coeducation." Of the latter he said: "These then are the three essential elements: association, equality, and the same administration." The association he referred to does not consist of "coinstruction," and just what sort of association is necessary to make the system coeducational he failed to specify. It is made clear that it need not be in the class room, although he said: "All will agree that coeducation does involve association between male and female students."[3] On the whole the coeducation he describes is much like the con-

[1] Monograph on "Education of Women" in *Education in the United States*, p. 350, edited by Nicholas Murray Butler, 1900.

[2] *Annual Report of National Bureau of Education*, 1900–01, p. 1298.

[3] *The Trend in Higher Education*, pp. 303, 304, University of Chicago Press.

dition at Columbia University. Concerning this President Low said in 1900: "*While the suggestion of coeducation in the college has met with no more favour now than in* 1883, . . . I think you will perceive that at Columbia University the college for women has been honourably recognised as an integral part of our system. Our college for women holds exactly the same relation to the university, within its own sphere, as our college for men holds."[1]

The only thing that could possibly make President Harper's plan coeducational when the system at Columbia is avowedly *not* coeducational would be some "association between male and female students" outside the class room which Columbia does not systematically provide. This is certainly not the element in coeducation which has been generally believed most essential to the advantage of either sex.

In an essay on three types of women's colleges, Alice Freeman Palmer said: "Coeducation involves, as its name implies, the education of a company of young men and women as a single body. To the sexes alike are presented the same conditions of admission, of opportunities during the course, of requirements for the degrees, of

[1] *Report of Quarter Centennial Anniversary of Smith College*, p. 163. Riverside Press, Cambridge, Mass.

guardianship, of discipline, of organisation. The typical features are identical class rooms, libraries, and laboratories, occupied at the same time, under the same instructors; and the same honours for like work." And again, in an essay on women's education, she said: "In coeducational colleges men and women have the same instructors, recite in the same classes."[1]

On this subject ex-President J. L. Pickard of the Iowa state university said in 1893: "Before proceeding to a discussion of the subject it is proper that coeducation should be defined. The well-nigh universal practice of western colleges and universities will define the term with sufficient clearness. Young men and women are invited to pursue their studies together in college as has been their custom in the high school and academy. They are subjected to an identical examination for admission. They are required to choose from many courses of study offered them. When choice is made they attend upon the instruction of the professors at the same hour, and of course in the same class room. Requirements as to attendance, to preparation, to examinations are identical. They pass from year to year upon the same basis of scholarship. They have equal

[1] *The Teacher*, by Professor George H. Palmer, pp. 319 and 345. Houghton, Mifflin Co., 1908.

opportunities for winning scholarship honours. They graduate upon the same day, present their theses upon the same platform, and receive diplomas entitling them to enjoy the privilege of the same degree."[1] This is sufficiently explicit for one desiring details; and, as it covers in every particular the uniform practice of Wisconsin for thirty-four years, it would be difficult there for coeducation to mean anything short of this practice.

There has been no variation in the official use of the word in Wisconsin since, in 1870, the regents differentiated it sharply from the option of separate education then offered to women; as the system whereby, "in the collegiate course, no distinction should be drawn between the sexes, that in study, in discipline, in recitation, and lectures the women should be required to take their places on the same footing as the men." It has recently been described by many graduates as "the system which has been in uninterrupted use at the university for thirty-five years, a system incompatible with any new provision for segregation of the sexes in the class room, a system interference with which must be formally sanctioned by the board of regents; this interference thus sanctioned to provide for the establishment,

[1] "Coeducation in Colleges," *Education*, xiii., 259.

when desired by instructors or students, of the precise condition that prevailed under President Chadbourne, an avowed enemy of coeducation."

A more philosophical discussion of the nature of coeducation than has been presented above was written to the Wisconsin alumnæ by Dr. Bascom on May 1, 1908:

"Segregation is directly opposed to coeducation. The one is separation in study, the other is union. Segregation admits of many degrees and, in every degree, is so much taken from coeducation. The passage from one degree to another is easy, and the arguments for all degrees are one in kind. The evils are that the method implies adaptation of instruction to the differences incident to sex, and so far as segregation is favoured, implies that these differences are of more moment than effort directed exclusively to the best instruction. This attitude is sure, sooner or later, in a less or greater degree, to issue in a course fitted, according to some one's notion, for women, and less comprehensive than the courses designed for men. There is no end to the limitations which will spring up under this notion, till we reach courses which exclude women from the freest and most profitable forms of study. In the case of political economy what the young woman needs is knowledge as

broad as the problem, and the same for all who are occupied with it.

"If there was not a very general and invincible feeling that something less than the best would do for women, indeed was better fitted for them than the best, segregation would still remain expensive and inconvenient, but would not be so unfavourable in its results. As things now are segregation springs from a feeling of inferiority in women either in powers, in wants, or in their relation to the work of the world, and is sure to carry this sense of difference from point to point till society is permanently embarrassed by artificial and conventional sentiments.

"This result has been so far the experience of the world and against it coeducation is arrayed." [1]

President Bascom's words have received the personal endorsement of President Northrup of the Minnesota state university.

There seems to be a quite sufficient warrant for retaining the original meaning of "coeducation" and for objecting to its being used like charity to cover a multitude of novel educational theories.

The fourth consideration in the summary describing proposed reforms in Wisconsin is the extent to which the modifications in the present coeducational system were to be carried. This was

[1] *The Milwaukee Sentinel*, May 7, 1908.

entirely indefinite and at the will of professors and students. It first appears that the granting of a request for separate classes in political economy and "similar requests" was considered by the regents on presentation of President Van Hise. Also the consideration of "separate classes in some subjects" was in the hands of a faculty committee which in a formal report declared that it was "appointed to consider the advisability of separate classes for men and women in certain courses." This committee was made up of members "representing the departments concerned." Among these departments were English, political economy, history, German, philosophy, and Romance languages. From the record of the regents it appears that ethics was united with political economy in the specific request made of the board for separate classes. President Van Hise's position on the extent of proposed modifications is clear from his Boston address:

"The natural segregation of the sexes in subjects which should be attractive to both is an undoubted educational tendency. . . . I believe the wisest procedure is for educational authorities to frankly recognise the tendency by providing in such subjects courses primarily for men and women as fast as the tendency shows that this is desirable, in order to give each sex the best

opportunity, . . . in the college of liberal arts providing for separate divisions which to a certain extent may be specialised. . . . In subjects such as language, literature, political economy, history, and mathematics, in a large institution there are many divisions. There is no reason whatever why such a course should not provide divisions primarily for the men and others primarily for the women. If the actual opportunities of women will be enlarged by offering courses in political economy for them, perhaps adapted to their special interests, when they otherwise would not pursue this subject because of the number of men, why should not this be done? If the opportunities of men will be enlarged by offering courses in literature for them, when otherwise they would not take such courses because of the large number of women, what valid objection can be urged to the proposal? Why should there not be given a course in ethics for men alone?"

It is seen that the modifications proposed, as within the range of immediate possibility, covered specifically every department of the college of liberal arts excepting the natural sciences.

On the authority of Dean Talbot of the Chicago University it has been published that in the fall of 1907, the men and women of the freshmen and sophomore classes of that institution were segre-

gated in only about one-fifth of their work.[1] That is, Chicago University as a whole is one-tenth segregated and nine-tenths coeducational. Yet this institution stands before the world as the great exponent of segregation. Its influence in that direction is tremendous. It has developed an abstract theory into the dignity of a fad. As no limitation regarding years was proposed in Wisconsin, it is quite possible that, if acceptable to the faculty and students, and proved by those now advocating it to be successful in attracting men and women where they do not now elect to go, Wisconsin would soon equal or exceed Chicago in the amount of its segregated work. Now this movement in Wisconsin was represented by its advocates as of little importance. On the other hand, it was of tremendous importance. It was practically proposed that Wisconsin, one of the three state universities in the whole country having the smallest percentage of women in its college of liberal arts, situated in a small town, with nearly a half century of successful coeducational experience, a public institution depending for support on the people, men and women, should in illustrating this principle of segregation stand by Chicago, a private institution and consequently

[1] *Magazine of Collegiate Alumnæ Association*, February, 1908, p. 53 note.

able to be arbitrary, situated in the second largest city of the United States, of very limited experience with coeducation and with a very large percentage of women in attendance.

This amounts to a positive revolution in theory, and the possibility, almost immediate, of a complete revolution in practice. No one familiar with the discussion roused by the action of Chicago University needs to be reminded of the result that would follow the imitation of that institution by any influential part of our public school system.

Julius Sachs in an article on "Coeducation in the United States" published in Germany in 1906 and reprinted in the *Educational Review*, said: "It calls for courage of no slight degree to urge, as President Harper did, a measure which in the eyes of many marks a step backward. From its foundation, the university of Chicago seemed committed to the system of coeducation; when after ten years of coeducational practise, the segregation of the two sexes in the lower classes of the university was decreed, the change called forth much violent comment. . . . Undoubtedly it is of no small moment that this policy of segregation has been adopted in one of the largest institutions of the middle west, that was looked upon as a very bulwark of coeducation."

In even considering the policy of segregation the Wisconsin university has already dealt a blow to coeducation. Julius Sachs, in an address before the Social Education Congress in Boston on March 6, 1908, said: "There must be grave occasion for doubt when the president of a coeducational university, like Chancellor Van Hise of Wisconsin, points out a serious menace in the presence of many young men and women in colleges like his, who have no serious purpose, who attend to win social prestige; there is a tendency, he says, among the women to regard as successful the one who is attractive to the young men; social availability is regarded by many young women as the basis of a successful college career, rather than intellectual leadership. With the changing constituencies of our colleges there lie here distinct dangers: distraction, lack of decision, uncertainty in educational policy, in class management. These are some of the intellectual reactions of coeducation.

"Stanley Hall's dictum 'that neither of the two sexes should be a final model for the imitation of the other' finds curious confirmation in another aspect that many of the coeducational institutions reveal. There has developed in various courses a differentiation that in its consequences is becoming serious. Wherever the elective system permits, the young men are withdrawing from courses

which are the favourite choice of the girls, the literary courses; the male students discard them as feminised, they turn by preference to subjects in which esthetic discrimination plays no part. Here is outright segregation, voluntary segregation, injurious to the cultural welfare of *our young men;* they certainly can ill afford to ignore the influences that good literature teaching brings into their lives. There is a possibility, says Chancellor Van Hise again, that some of the colleges of liberal arts in the state universities may in large measure cease to be coeducational by becoming essentially women's colleges. Here is again an intellectual reaction, proceeding from coeducation, hardly, however, one that would be urged in its favour."[1]

Dr. Sachs is an avowed enemy of coeducation in colleges and in secondary schools. It will be a matter of concern in Wisconsin to realise that in one brief paragraph he acknowledges the service of the university of that state in aiding Stanley Hall to forge weapons for his use. The segregation theory may masquerade as equivalent to the "settled policy of the institution" at home, but its true character is well understood in educational discussions outside of Wisconsin.

It is not necessary to show that great changes were immediately intended to follow the proposed

[1] *Educational Review*, xxxv., pp. 469, 470.

reforms in Wisconsin. It is sufficient to recognise that any privilege granted to one of 150 members of a certain faculty must necessarily be extended on demand to all the rest; and that any separate instruction granted to a dozen students must necessarily be extended to any equal number of the whole 2000 who should request it. As professors who were already experimenting with the system were influenced by the opportunities it afforded to suit the instruction to the diverse interests of the students, it is very evident that any students could, by manifesting their interest, greatly modify their courses. Women, in vastly increasing numbers, who had never wished or been prepared to accept the standards established for men, would have a perfect right to demand classes of their own; and, in such classes, any boarding-school standards that suited them would not only possibly but very probably in time be established. There could be no surer method of flooding an institution with young women whose educational ideals would be met by an indifferent amount of knowledge. It would be much more likely to occur than in an institution like Chicago where there was a uniform standard to be maintained by all women, the earnest students being segregated with the rest.

So long as there seemed no prospect of a practi-

cal application in Wisconsin of the educational theories that have been described, the subject received no general attention. But when it was known that the matter was before the regents for definite action, it became very generally discussed; and in June the regents unanimously adopted the following resolution which enforced what had always been their policy: "Men and women shall be equally entitled to membership in all classes of the university, and there shall be no discrimination on account of sex in granting scholarships or fellowships in any of the colleges or departments of the university." Under the present laws of Wisconsin, the same body could at any meeting reverse this decision, but as the board is at present constituted, such action is exceedingly improbable.

NOTE:—The law relating to the admission of women to the state university of Wisconsin was amended in 1909 by striking out the following provision: "The university shall be open to female as well as male students under such regulations and restrictions as the board of regents may deem proper," and substituting therefor the following: "All schools and colleges of the university shall, in their respective departments and class exercises, be open without distinction to students of both sexes." This amendment was in line with the official act of the regents of the previous year. Its adoption by the legislature met no opposition from the board and received the personal endorsement of a majority of its members. Its passage created no discussion in legislative session. Before its adoption the legal status of women

in the university of Wisconsin had been less protected than in any state university with a few exceptions in the south. This was not generally realised by the people, and there was a practically uniform sentiment that the Wisconsin statute was obsolete and should be amended. By this action there is no power outside of the legislature that can modify the system of coeducation that has prevailed in Wisconsin since 1870.

CHAPTER VIII

THE SUPERFLUOUS WOMAN

THE reasons assigned in Wisconsin for proposed reforms in education are of general application. Indeed, there are few states where they are of so little force as Wisconsin. The superfluous woman has been a problem of social economics in various countries in various ages. In India, between the crocodile and the suttee, she never attained the dignity of a problem; but in America she is ever with us from the cradle to the grave.

In former days she was largely a geographical product to be corrected by distribution, and the original home-seeker's excursions were organised for her benefit. Now her tendency to congregate in coeducational institutions has given occasion for embarrassment to educators who have the idea that the state is chiefly concerned with the education of men. So long as men predominate in state universities, no problem is presented to these educators. As soon as the number of women begins to equal or exceed that of the men serious questions arise. However

illogical and unjust may be this view of public education, it becomes a serious question to the women desiring the advantage of economical and effective higher education, if their opportunities are to depend in any degree upon the indifference which women as a class manifest toward these advantages.

In the address to the collegiate alumnæ, President Van Hise said: "While the increase in the number of women as compared with the men is more rapid in state universities located in cities than in small towns, in the latter, also, upon the average, they are increasing in relative numbers; and if this tendency continues there is a possibility that some of the colleges of liberal arts in the state universities, not the universities as a whole, may in large measure cease to be coeducational by becoming essentially women's colleges."

In any consideration of the subject, it must be assumed in the beginning that the relation of women to public education is precisely identical with that ot men; that a state university with a thousand women and a hundred men in attendance is upon exactly the same basis, so far as coeducation is concerned, as one where a thousand men and a hundred women are registered as students. If the latter condition has prevailed

in the past in certain institutions, no outcry has been made. So long as the same opportunities are freely given to all, it is difficult to understand why, even under a reversal of circumstances such a cry should arise. It can only be caused by confusion as to what may be justly attempted or accomplished in public education as compared with private education.

It may be granted here that those wishing to change the present system of public education sincerely wish to guard what they think to be the interests of women, but this is quite immaterial. The ideas of no group of men are to be properly accepted as to the nature of these interests, or how they may best be guarded. Public education has passed beyond the point where the people will permit the instability and deterioration of educational standards that would result from radical experiments with the present system.

Although many women are forced to take their places in the industrial world, men still constitute the great industrial army. As an army must be fed though the people starve, so men must be prepared for the industrial struggle; and all standards of public education, which must perforce always be economical, will be adjusted to that end. The woman who needs this training can not get it in isolated schools of the same rank,

or in isolated classes of the same school. Every scarcity in the provision made for such training would be felt first in such schools or such classes. Whatever advantage or disadvantage may accompany coeducation as a principle, women can be effectively prepared for the work of the world only in coeducational schools or in institutions equally endowed and equipped. There is no women's college in existence that can claim this distinction. As women's professional schools are practically unknown, and would really be an injury to women's professional standing, so a women's state university, were such an institution possible, would be an injury to women's professional standing as teachers in secondary coeducational schools.

A letter from a Wisconsin alumna expresses this sentiment based upon experience: "Personally I wish to protest against any feminised political economy. . . . Many of the alumnæ go out to teach political economy to high school classes. The task is hard enough at best; and I am sure from my own experience would be much harder if one had not been taught by men—or women—who are talking directly to the men in the class."

Another Wisconsin alumna, for a number of years a county superintendent of public instruction writes: "Women are teaching everywhere in the high schools and colleges of the country. If

you do not wish to deter young men from entering upon even a high school course, do not give them to understand that instructors there are unfamiliar with what education for men is or ought to be. And do not commit the injustice of sending out young women thus handicapped, for they will certainly find it more difficult to get positions."

Yet the professor at the head of the department of education in the university of Wisconsin has said that in view of the "rising tide of criticism in this country against the present system of coeducation," "attempts are being made, very cautiously it should be said, to segregate boys and girls to some extent in the high school, in the college, and the university. There is also a growing tendency to limit the number of women which may be admitted to them, the aim being to keep the attendance below that of men. Within the next few years there is bound to be a struggle over the question of segregation and the limitation of the number of women in coeducational institutions. . . . If it seems necessary to save the present colleges for men, other institutions just as desirable in every way should be established and saved for women mainly."[1] The latter part of the foregoing can never commend itself to legislators and taxpayers. It has some interest

[1] *Wisconsin Journal of Education*, April, 1908.

as an illustration of the extravagant ideas which lead to the charge too often made against educators that they are visionary and without practical judgment.

But the more immediate interest in the whole expression is in the indirect appeal which is made to the prejudices of young men in favour of discrimination and exclusion. This spirit can never prevail among the people, but it can rouse the bigoted assumption latent in narrow souls that the world was created for their advantage, or that some particular corner of it was specially reserved for their enjoyment. This spirit is not general in American young manhood. A generous recognition of opportunities to be equally shared with all, to the mutual advantage of each, belongs to their sex, their nationality, their inheritance, and their training. Nevertheless the opposite spirit can be cultivated, and may find expression from the least worthy of those who absorb it; and these expressions, whether active, or passive in neglected opportunities, will bring in their train educational problems beside which the predominance of women in coeducational institutions will sink into comparative insignificance.

A corresponding spirit of timidity and self-conscious vanity can be cultivated among the women students by dissatisfied professors. The

idea that they can claim the undivided attention of men of distinction, for this would undoubtedly be the initial stage of the reform, and the womanly charm appreciated by these men in women students who would avoid intellectual competition with men, can be made very attractive to inexperienced young women. As a certain type of hysterical patient is too subject to the personal impressions and influence of her physician, so a certain form of intellectual hysteria sometimes gives men disposed to take advantage of it great power in directing the education of some of their women students according to their wishes or opinions. In both these directions educational problems are being created in the prejudice of students that were ignored to advantage thirty years ago. Only the prompt settlement of the question that has been made in Wisconsin can meet it advantageously elsewhere. It is not always safe to let the sleeping dogs of argument lie. A force is sometimes accumulated by the cessation of public interest in a question supposed to be settled, that leads to a weary course over fields hardly won and long turned to fruitful use.

In an address at the convocation of Chicago University on April 2, 1897, when that institution was wholly coeducational, the Countess of Aberdeen said: "Can either men or women, after such

an experience as the students of this university pass through, go home and shut away to themselves the influence which whilst here they have shared with their brother and sister students under the guidance of a body of professors of both men and women? Will not this comradeship during the most impressionable time of their lives, when their whole inner faculties were expanding under the genial sunlight of a broadly conceived education, count for much in the whole set of their lives toward life and the relationships which they shall find therein?" To the women students especially she added: "In your common education you have lost that diffidence and self-consciousness in taking up common work with the other sex which has often been the bane of women workers, and which has too frequently developed into the language of self-assertion and aggressive attack."[1]

Whatever may be the prejudice of students or the preference of instructors, for whatever purpose women seek higher educational advantages, or however great their numbers may be, their just relation to opportunities afforded by public taxation is precisely identical with the relation sustained by men to the same advantages. What some may think an equal opportunity is by no means the same thing, and its substitution is not

[1] *University Record*, ii., p. 3.

justly to be considered. There is no safeguard but identity of interest if just opportunities are to be preserved.

This having been established, or for sake of argument granted, it is pertinent to inquire into the assertions which have been made as to the attendance of women, their elections of studies, and the effect of their increased, and it is to be hoped increasing, desire for higher education.

President Van Hise, in his Boston address, said: "In the early stages of the development of coeducation, with the exception of the objection of the men themselves, there was practically no educational problem. The women were greatly outnumbered by the men and the entrance of the few women made scarcely more disturbance in the work of the professors than the appearance in recent years of a considerable group of Japanese, Chinese, and Filipinos." In this connection a congratulatory expression on "the ever-increasing popularity and prestige of Wisconsin" from the office of the registrar of the university published Sept. 7, 1908, is of interest. It is to the effect that, "there will be an unprecedented number of Chinese students at the university of Wisconsin next year" because it had been "recommended to Chinese students as the best school for them in the country by no less an

authority than Minister Wu Ting Fang at Washington." It is to be hoped that the prejudices of these oriental students will not strengthen the opposition to coeducation.

It is probable, however, that there has been no intention of placing women on a par with representatives of alien races, save as illustrating the interest always attending the introduction of a new social element. But the ratio of women at the university of Wisconsin has always been large enough since 1870 to make the sentiment of little force there. It is not a question of "disturbance in the work of the professors" and instructors, 70% of whom have entered the university since 1900. It is rather a failure on the part of those whose work is subject to "disturbance" to realise for what work they were employed and to adjust themselves to conditions long established. It will be remembered that the regents of the university declared in 1876, in regard to the number of women in attendance: "With a due appreciation of the valuable advantages conferred upon both classes of students without distinction of sex, and of the views of the authorities upon this subject, there is reason to anticipate a more equal proportion in the number fitting for and attending upon the university classes." They accompanied this with the statement that

about one-fourth the whole number of students then attending the university were women. As a matter of fact the proportion of women in regular college work was at that time somewhat more than 30%, and had in previous years been still greater.

A letter written by President Angell in 1872 stated in regard to Michigan University: "It is only about two years since we received women into our classes. We have not quite thirty in the literary department (which embraces more than four hundred students in all.)"[1] In 1872, when Michigan's women students were but 7.5% of the whole number, in Wisconsin they were 30% of the students in the college of letters and science; and this ratio was the following year increased to about 39%. Since 1870, the percentage of women in regular college work in Wisconsin has very rarely fallen below 30%. It has never but once, in 1906–07, reached 50%. Consequently the prediction made with favourable anticipation by the regents in 1876 has not been very rapidly fulfilled. It took sixteen years to bring the relative proportion of women to the permanent level of 38%, and sixteen years more to bring it to 48%.

From President Van Hise's published figures for the year 1906–07, when the relative attendance

[1] *Williams Vidette*, July 6, 1872.

of women reached its highest point, it appears that among thirteen state universities, Wisconsin is one of three having the smallest proportion of women among its students in the college of liberal arts. By the catalogues published for 1907–08, the ratio of women to men is in Wisconsin 3% less than in Illinois, 14% less than in Minnesota.

The relative attendance of women in Wisconsin is given below. The statement includes all undergraduate students in the college of letters and science in regular college classes, as well as "irregular" and "special" students reciting with these students.

Year	% Women	Year	% Women	Year	% Women
1871–72	30	1884–85	29.2	1897–98	37
1872–73	38.9	1885–86	31.8	1898–99	40
1873–74	34.5	1886–87	30.4	1899–00	41.7
1874–75	33.2	1887–88	29	1900–01	40.7
1875–76	30.4	1888–89	31.1	1901–02	42.2
1876–77	30	1889–90	30.2	1902–03	42.3
1877–78	28	1890–91	35	1903–04	44.9
1878–79	27.7	1891–92	38.4	1904–05	45.5
1879–80	30.5	1892–93	40	1905–06	46.6
1880–81	31.2	1893–94	38.7	1906–07	50.8
1881–82	31	1894–95	40.5	1907–08	48.9
1882–83	34	1895–96	43.3		
1883–84	34	1896–97	41.2		

The average annual ratio of women to the whole number of students in the college of letters and science during the past thirty-seven years is 36.5%; during the past eleven years, 43.7%.

It is seen from the above statement that there has been no sudden or very rapid increase in the relative number of women students in the college of letters and science. This fact is the more remarkable on account of the very rapid development of the engineering school. The first two years' work of these students is very largely in the lines of language and mathematics pursued by the students of the college of letters and science, and with the same instructors. It would, more than any other technical or professional school, attract the students who might otherwise remain in literary and scientific courses. In 1902 the dean of the college of letters and science expressed his opinion that, "the great demand for engineers has turned into that college a not inconsiderable number of young men who under other business conditions would have entered the college of letters and science." In 1895–96 this school enrolled 207, and in 1907–08, 921 students. This period of twelve years shows a falling off in the relative attendance of men in the college of letters and science of 5%. There has been a decrease in the relative number of men in this college during the past seventeen years of 10%.

To assume that the presence of women accounts in any degree for this is a poor compliment to

the advantages for technical training offered in Wisconsin. Since 1895–96, the engineering school has nearly quadrupled its attendance, fully allowing for the increase possibly received from any decrease in the number of men in the college of letters and science. If the relative attendance of men and women in the college of letters and science were in 1907–08 the same as in 1895–96, and this balance were restored by taking all the men required to make up the number from the present enrollment in the college of engineering, that school would still have multiplied by three and one-half its attendance of 1895–96.

The ten years preceding 1896 showed a marked increase in the attendance of women at the university. President Adams commented upon this, showing that from 1886–87 to 1895–96 inclusive there had been an increase in the number of women of 182%, and of men 122%. He stated in the same connection: "It cannot be said that the problem of coeducation presents many difficulties." "The tendency simply discloses an increasing disposition of the young women who have completed a high school course to continue their studies either for the purpose of broader education, or in order to fit themselves the more properly for the vocation of teachers. While

many of the men are drawn into professional studies or business pursuits without completing an undergraduate course, many of the women are led to take such steps as will broaden their intellectual horizon, and enable them to earn an honourable livelihood."

The period referred to by President Adams covers a more rapid increase in the proportion of women than is shown by the following decade. From 1895–96 to 1904–05, this rate was 88% gain for women, and 72% for men. From 1904–05 to 1907–08 the rate of increase is 24% for women, and only 10% for men. This indicates that women are not maintaining the rate of increase of the preceding decade, and that men are falling still farther behind. The engineering school during the same period has increased its attendance by only 14%; and the law school has decreased in numbers by 14%. The agricultural school, which is the one least in competition with the college of letters and science is the only one to show great gains in an increase of 32%. The truth may very possibly be that the phenomenal growth of a university may not be indefinitely maintained, and that the intellectual tastes of women are not chiefly responsible for the educational tendencies of men.

In estimating the relative number of women

in the college of letters and science, the commerce course has been included for the reason that its students are so registered in the university catalogues; they receive the A.B. degree and have really very little specialised work. With the free elections allowed, such a student may easily take more than 100 unit hours of work in courses followed by the other students in letters and science who, to graduate, must have 120 such hours work. President Van Hise said of this course in 1904, that it is "a course in the college of letters and science analogous to the civil engineering course in the college of engineering." The bulletins on attendance issued by the regents since the organisation of the course state that, "this course is so interwoven with the other courses of the college of letters and science that it cannot well be separated."

In this connection, certain facts regarding the engineering school and the long courses in agriculture should also be considered. In his report for 1902–04 the dean of the college of letters and science stated: "The number of students in the long course in agriculture has not been great, and their presence in the classes of the college of letters and science has involved comparatively little labour. They are, however, increasing, as the present freshman class in

agriculture numbers 24, quite enough to constitute a division in each study. All of their instruction during the freshman and sophomore years is given by the college of letters and science. . . . More than three-fourths of the work of the freshman engineers and about five-eighths of that of the sophomores is under the care of teachers in the college of letters and science. This instruction includes all of the courses in English, foreign languages, mathematics, physics, chemistry, mineralogy and zoölogy. . . . The increase of engineering students makes itself felt in the college of letters and science before it seriously affects the college of engineering." This increase "makes itself felt" in the relative attendance of all students doing the same work. Until 1886–87 there was no long course in agriculture, and the independent courses in engineering had no influence on work in the class room. There were no freshmen engineers and only six or seven in any of the other college classes. For fifteen years, women had made from 30 to 35% of all students, in literary and scientific work.

In 1895–6 the engineering school registered 23% of the students including those in letters and science; and, of all, the relative attendance of women was 33.7%. The long course in agriculture was still undeveloped, having but eight students.

At present, the engineering school and the long agricultural course together have 37% of these students, and the ratio of women to all is 28%.

So far as the work of the freshmen and sophomore years is concerned, limiting ourselves to the membership of those classes, 28% more nearly represents the proportion of the women students than the 48% which represents their relative registration in the regular college classes of the college of letters and science.

In the college work referred to by the dean of the college of letters and science, there is now a smaller proportion of women students than there was in 1870; or than there has been at any time before the development of the engineering school and the transferring of the names of the freshmen and sophomore students in this school from the college of letters and science where three-fourths of their work is done, to a separate list in the catalogue. Moreover if all the work of the college of letters and science and under the sole direction of the faculty of that college were reduced to unit hours, it would be found that the relative proportion of the work of the women students in this college had in thirty-eight years increased less than 7%.

The classes of the agricultural and engineering students are generally made up of these students

only; but this is largely a matter of convenience, and as a matter of fact, the presence, in a class of thirty such students, of a single woman from the college of letters and science is not unknown. As seen in the report of the dean of that college, it is not largely a matter of different work, but depends upon whether the students free at a certain hour are "quite enough to constitute a separate division in each study."

Those who see a danger to the opportunities of men in those sought by women in the same intellectual field, aggravate their fears by observing that not only in the general college of liberal arts are women increasing in numbers, but that these women show a tendency in elections which groups them together. The inference is immediately drawn that the cause of this grouping is a sex repulsion in those whom economical reasons have induced to seek a coeducational institution; and that the result of it has been, and will increasingly be, by the same sex repulsion to drive men out of intellectual fields which would otherwise be attractive to them. This is exactly the same prejudice that was encountered in the origin of coeducation. It was, in Wisconsin, never aggressive among the men, and undiscoverable among the women when women were first admitted to the university. The regents made

provision for this feeling among women by the organisation of the female college, which provision was always neglected and ignored. It was in 1907 proposed to provide for it in both sexes by a triple system of female college, male college, and mixed college, all maintained by taxpayers, that every possible human prejudice induced by sex repulsion, or the no less embarrassing sex attraction, might be accommodated.

If sex prejudice in the intellectual life is worthy of respect, and should entail a provision for its accommodation similar to that made for race prejudice in the transportation facilities of the south, in what a position is the student placed by the plan of President Van Hise outlined as follows: "Even if these separate divisions of classes in some subjects were provided, other divisions of the same classes would still be maintained open alike to men and women." This is to say to the student: "Your prejudice is reasonable and natural and we will favour it at public expense; but if you wish to overcome it, or prefer the company of the opposite sex, although the instructor is ready to give you the seclusion which the university recognises as just and proper, representatives of the other sex will probably be found to agree with your tastes, and the opportunity will be given you to meet them." This

theory needs but to be stated to be repudiated. But certain practical facts regarding elections may here be profitably considered.

President Van Hise stated the "sex repulsion" theory as follows: "When, as a matter of fact, in a given course women for one reason or another become predominant, this acts as a deterrent to the free election of the course by considerable numbers of young men, and *vice versa*." Latin is the most conspicuous example of a course "the free election" of which by men requires stimulation. If the great numbers of women seeking instruction in Latin were responsible, by reason of "sex repulsion," for the neglect by men of this otherwise very attractive field, we should naturally expect that this condition, operating in so many institutions of the country, would, by reflex action upon the few great universities for many years notable for achievement in this department of learning, flood these institutions with eager young men seeking a classical education. What are the facts? From Harvard, Yale, Columbia, comes the same cry, "The men are forsaking the humanities."

It is manifestly impossible that the effect of the superfluous woman's presence in these departments in so many institutions, if rightly estimated by the theory advanced, should be accompanied by a corresponding condition in non-coeducational

institutions. It is practically inconceivable that some small portion of the masculine craving for Latin, unsatisfied in fields open to women, should not survive to find relief in the special reservations already provided for masculine use. Not only has it totally disappeared, but it has borne with it a very considerable increment eliminated from places where the feminine influence can certainly not be held responsible for its disappearance. Sex repulsion will not explain why the students at Yale were giving 34.8% of their time to the ancient languages in 1886, and 22.7% of it to the same work in 1901. If it had not been required of freshmen at the latter date, the difference might have been still greater. It has been published within a year that only one student in eight at Harvard is studying either Latin or Greek.

Coeducational institutions may concern themselves with the possible influence of women in the class room upon classical study, when the identical phenomena of classical repulsion and resulting masculine elections cease to manifest themselves in universities for men. The obvious explanation of these phenomena lies in the series of influences to which modern education is everywhere subject in temptations to seek immediate material advantage to be won only by technical or professional

training. The haste that waits not for the basis of general culture is stimulated by the conferring of the A. B. degree upon candidates from every department of the college of liberal arts from Greek to commerce, and Adam's apology is presented for the result of it all. Is there not more justice in the frank statement of W. D. Howells that "Our women really have some use for the education of a gentleman, but our men have none"?

The elimination of the superfluous woman was applied in Chicago University as a means of promoting the masculine interest in the humanities. The result is that, during the past twelve years covering the five years' application of the seclusion remedy in the junior college, the number of men in the science courses has quadrupled, in the modern-language courses remained practically the same, and in the ancient classical course been diminished by one-half. The men who have been deterred from the pursuit of Latin in Wisconsin have not taken refuge in the commerce course which is chiefly neglected by women, as only nine men have been added since 1904 to the two hundred and ten who were then enrolled there. The only college of the university which from its numbers might presumably have received refugees is that of agriculture, and this does not afford

a very probable substitute for the classical study which would be stimulated by the exclusion of women.

The chief influence on elections in college work is the preparation received in secondary schools. Of the north central division of states made by the national bureau of education, including Wisconsin, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Minnesota, Iowa, Missouri, South Dakota, North Dakota, Kansas, and Nebraska, only one had in 1905 so small a relative number of students in classical study in the secondary schools as Wisconsin. This statement includes both public and private schools. Of all studying Latin in the high schools of the country in 1905, 46.7% were boys; while the ratio in Wisconsin was 33%. While girls predominated also in the classes in German, algebra, geometry, physics, English literature, history, and civics, the difference is much more marked in Latin than in any other study. It is to be remembered, moreover, that Latin is less likely to be elected than other college work if its preparation has been neglected.

There will always be a basis for the promotion of the theory of sex repulsion in intellectual pursuits in the egotism or timidity of a certain class of students, and the lack of experience of a certain class of instructors. But the practical

results of its application to public education could only be mischievous, and to the inevitable disadvantage of women. One of the professors of Wisconsin who has most ardently advocated segregation has recently declared that he was willing to teach classes of men, and classes of men and women; but, as for classes of women, he would have none of them as they would be entirely without interest.

President Eliot addressing the graduating class of Radcliffe college said in 1903: "The strongest doubt concerning the richness of the opportunities which Radcliffe college has offered to its students is the doubt about the number of first-class professors who appear in the list of courses given at Radcliffe."[1]

"Sex repulsion" in intellectual pursuits is contrary to common sense and worldly experience. It owes its support to vanity or provincialism. This is not to say that it does not exist. That it should be recognised by an institution would be to deny to the students the best opportunity they will ever have to overcome a disability that can only bring them discomfort and incompetency. Lack of confidence, self-consciousness, and the vanity underlying these qualities can best be cured by the conviction won by hard experience,

[1] *Harvard Graduates' Magazine*, 1903–4, p. 167.

that one's success or failure means, beyond the moment, nothing to any witness. The discovery frequently and advantageously to be made that superiority exists where it was least expected, corrects the perspective of many whose vision is distorted by supposed advantages of race or sex. For these reasons any provision by public taxation for the exclusion of either sex as a premium to the other is not only humiliating to those excluded and demoralising to those received; it is a public menace to good citizenship.

CHAPTER IX

PUBLIC EDUCATION IN RELATION TO THE OCCUPATIONS OF COLLEGE WOMEN

AMONG the circumstances affecting the number of women at the state universities and their election of studies, is the relation which these institutions bear to the general public-school system. This is not only because the number of girls who graduate from the high schools exceeds the number of boys,[1] and these high schools form the principal source of supply of students for the universities; although this fact alone would be sufficient to explain a predominance of women in higher coeducational institutions. But these institutions have now in their turn begun to supply the secondary schools with a large number of teachers; and the demand for these teachers is making its influence felt in an increased appreciation of a university education on the part of those who would supply the demand.

There is in Wisconsin a systematic effort to

[1] Wisconsin is somewhat above the general average in the ratio of boys to the whole number of high-school graduates. This ratio there equals about 38%.

maintain this reciprocal relation. This effort began in an attempt to recommend the university to the favour of the people, was partially relaxed during the development of state normal schools, but has now, in spite of this development, revived in response to the people's necessity. It has been seen that in the early history of the university its relation to the general public-school system was constantly emphasised, and that this emphasis had great influence in the early progress of co-education. The impetus thus received by the latter was never lost, although the normal department of the university had really passed out of existence before it was officially displaced by the "female college."

In the interim between the normal work of the university and the organisation of the first state normal school in 1866, such work was attempted by private academies and even some high schools; and the income of the state fund for normal-school work was apportioned among these schools by the normal-school regents. In 1865, one college, four academies, and three high schools reported 154 pupils taking normal training. As might be expected, this work was poorly done, and of the pupils reported, only about one-fifth succeeded in passing the required examination of the state normal board. Among the successful normal

classes of this sort was one conducted by Miss Charlotte Mann, a graduate of Antioch College and a niece of Horace Mann. For several years this class supplied many of the most successful teachers of north-western Wisconsin.

Among the arguments used for the creation of separate normal schools as early as 1863, when the university was striving to more firmly establish normal work, State Superintendent Pickard called attention to the fact that although the attendance in that department of the university was very large, it included many who "are not normal students, and have no intention of teaching." He added also that "the model school cannot be engrafted upon the university"; and this statement has, to the present day, not been disproved.

The second state normal school was organised in 1868, a third in 1871, and a fourth in 1875. All were entirely independent of the university and its management, and were widely separated in location. They rapidly took possession of the field which the university had sought to cover; and, although for ten years no additions were made to their number, the university, from 1866 to 1885, made no attempt to give normal training or to organise courses of study particularly intended for the preparation of teachers in special branches.

An assistant, or indeed a principal, in a high school was at that time expected to teach an indefinite number of subjects, perhaps limited only by the number of recitation periods. The daily program of an assistant in one of the leading high schools of the state included, in 1878, geometry, English, German, physical geography, physiology, and botany. As nothing came amiss in the way of preparation, the university was not failing to meet the requirements of the situation in neglecting to specialise the instruction of those students who went out as teachers. Electives, if allowed, would, under such conditions not be influenced by anticipations of a professional career, and would be some indication of individual preferences. These teachers were, however, in popular estimation, at a distinct disadvantage as compared with normal-school graduates. Until 1878, their diplomas were not recognised by the state department of public instruction, and they were obliged each year to be examined by a county superintendent of schools who was himself generally a normal-school man. As a preliminary to this examination they generally attended a several weeks' county institute, where they modestly witnessed the display of talent by normal school students, and were themselves frequently routed by the superintendent, who could ask

more questions about a semicolon than were ever dreamed of in their philosophy.

The minutiæ developed in the training of teachers and exploited at county institutes gave little encouragement to the average university graduate to seek emancipation by an examination for a state teacher's certificate, and the annual process of certified qualification by county authorities was repeated until 1878. From this time the university graduate received a limited license to teach, to be extended, on proof of successful service, to an unlimited state certificate.

Altogether, in the early seventies, the normal schools had with the people a greater professional prestige than the university, and their relation to the common schools was more intimate. President Bascom realised the necessity of correlating the work of the university with that of the normal schools, and of raising the standard of the high schools as preparatory to college work. In 1872, a law had been passed giving free tuition to all graduates of graded schools entering the university on examination; but in 1874 the number of such students enrolled amounted to less than 12% of the whole number in college classes. At the same time there were, in the preparatory and sub-freshmen departments of the university, five times the number who had that year entered

from the graded schools. President Bascom reported in 1874: "The duties of a state university are very grave, and cannot be completely met without a close affinity and orderly interdependence of all the schools of the state. The university comes in direct contact with the instruction of the state, through the graded schools and the schools which rank with them in their work." About 40% of the freshmen class in this year entered from the graded schools, and an equal number from the preparatory department of the university. Dr. Bascom added: "We are anticipating a rapid transfer of this entire work to the graded schools." In 1875, he said: "We desire to build up the university in the closest connection with these schools, knowing that only thus can we gain for ourselves or for them permanent prosperity." At this time the graded schools of the state had increased from less than 50 in 1860, to 420, 27 being independent city schools, and 210 of the others having three or more departments. The university was receiving but a small proportion of students from these larger graded schools.

In 1875, a powerful stimulus was given to secondary education by a law giving to each town free high school, with an annual sum of $500.00, additional aid according to the number of students enrolled. In 1876, a state law gave free tuition

in the university to all residents of the state. In that year also, was first put into operation a system whereby high schools were put upon an accredited list by the university. Until 1880, these graduates were received upon examination conducted at the schools; and, after that time, without examination, the school having been recommended by a visiting committee of the university faculty.

In 1876, the board of visitors of the university recommended the organisation of normal work supplementary to that of the normal schools, as a "positive want of our university considered as the crown of a connected state system. The existing normal schools are not restricted to college graduates, and they train for teaching in the common branches only. Their value is not to be underestimated. But the common schools do not usually profess or attempt to fit pupils for college or university. Between the usual school course and the collegiate course is a broad hiatus which must at present be bridged over by a preparatory department awkwardly and expensively prefixed to the collegiate course, a serious drawback upon the upward growth and vigour of the college proper. A normal class for graduates only, would in time contribute a grade of teachers of higher acquirements and of higher aims and

sympathies. Most certainly such an effort must tend to realise the ideal of all thinking educators, the raising of teaching to recognised and honoured rank among the liberal professions."

From 1876 to 1880 constant efforts were made to unite more closely the interests of the university and the subordinate schools. In 1877, the regents commented upon the progress which "has rendered possible more appropriate relations between the university and the high schools, and is likely to enforce a more just appreciation of their obligations to the state by teachers in preparatory grades." And in 1878, they said: "The primaries and intermediates furnish its students, and the university in turn sends back to the communities whence they come, the same students to exert a healthy and elevating influence upon the primary and intermediate schools."

Although the university's accredited list in 1880–81 consisted of but four high schools and four private academies, upon this encouraging basis, the preparatory department was abolished, except for courses in Greek. President Bascom, in his report for this year said: "The high schools are inadequate and the few academies in the state should be encouraged, being fitted to do the work of preparation for the university better than the high schools are. High schools should be multi-

plied and encouraged. Among the things that the university of Wisconsin is striving to do and helping to do, there will be none of more permanent value than its share in the effort to bring into existence a strong body of high schools scattered throughout the state."

The state law giving aid to high schools was particularly efficacious in creating new schools at secondary centres, so that the system worked its way into thinly populated regions and improved the quality of instruction in the older schools. In 1884, President Bascom said: "We have a strong list of accredited high schools. Much more may be done and should be done to improve the high schools of the state. We trust that the professorship of pedagogy just established will be very helpful in this direction. This professorship will be ordered in the direct interest of general education, and, through general education, to the university." And in his report of 1886, he said of the university: "There are now very few institutions of higher education which equal it in the hold which it has on the state to which it belongs, in the number of collegiate students it receives from its own state, in the influence it exerts on intermediate instruction, and in its relation to the colleges of the state."

President Bascom's period of connection with

the university witnessed the complete transference of preparation for collegiate work to the high schools and a few private academies; the development of secondary education to the point where it could worthily accomplish this work; the establishment of cordial co-operation between the university and the normal schools; and the proper recognition of the university graduate as a powerful factor in the educational system. There has been no period of equal duration in the history of the university when so great and harmonious a development of the whole system of public education was effected. For the past twenty years, the relation between the university and the secondary school has been constantly strengthened. Normal-school graduates are received as juniors in the university, and are increasingly taking advantage of the opportunity to add to their technical training the more thorough preparation which the university can give. The director of the university summer session said in 1908: "The number of normal-school graduates seeking college work and degrees is rising steadily. It has grown 50% in two years. It will doubtless continue to grow with the expanding requirements of the high schools."

In 1886 came the first, and, so far as observed, the last official notice of the danger of feminising

the public-school system of Wisconsin. In that year the state superintendent of public instruction reported that "the schools have suffered very materially from the withdrawal of men from teaching, and this is, in the opinion of many, one chief cause of the early falling out of school by boys in both the common and high schools." This illustrates that in educational problems as in other matters there is nothing new under the sun. This problem agitated some men when women first became influential in secondary education. Now that their attainments are fitting them for service in advanced work, a new generation of beards is wagging ominously over the seriousness of the situation.

Perhaps the experience of the past may help to dissipate some of the fears of the present. There were in 1849, about an equal number of women and men employed in the public-school service in Wisconsin. In 1886, when the state superintendent sounded his note of alarm, two-thirds of all the public-school teachers of Wisconsin were women. This proportion was increased to five-sixths in 1892, and seven-eighths in 1907. The causes which have been constantly improving the public-school system since 1880 have been indicated; but, if the predominance of women teachers is as great a menace as was supposed

more than twenty years ago, it seems that no influence could have saved the public schools. If these schools suffered materially from the reduction of men from one-half to one-third, what must be the consequence of the still further reduction of that ratio to one-eighth? It would seem that the hand's-breadth cloud of 1886 has increased to an overshadowing of the light of intelligence which would naturally reduce Wisconsin to the condition of Georgia or Mississippi.

Happily the presumably impossible result or coincidence has been that the common and high schools have constantly improved in efficiency. The latter have met the requirements established by the university until they are now practically all upon its accredited list, and furnish nearly all of its undergraduate students who enter as freshmen from Wisconsin. Moreover, from statistics of 164 high schools as late as 1904 to 1905, it appears that 42.28% of the pupils in Wisconsin high schools are boys. The university annually congratulates itself upon the support of the high schools, and under the present system of supervision must necessarily vouch for their high standing. It may safely be concluded that the common-school system of Wisconsin will survive the rising tide of femininity which threatened its extinction in 1886. The most conservative univer-

sity professor now recognises this, and has taken refuge in the last ditch of the entrenchments against the feminine invasion. This is a coeducational college professorship, and is courageously and with nearly uniform success defended.

One other circumstance received attention in Wisconsin university history fifteen years ago. This was the discovery, by examination of the period from 1885 to 1894, that the general science courses were on an average growing four times as fast as the ancient and modern classical courses combined. It was found that the high schools could be stimulated to do more preparatory work in Latin, but that Greek preparatory classes must continue in the university. Latin preparatory classes are at present maintained there also.

The professorship in pedagogy, referred to by President Bascom in 1884, fulfilled his expectation. Its first incumbent, in addition to his university duties, filled an institute lectureship, giving each year from thirty to forty lectures in connection with teachers' institutes. Since that time the university has constantly recognised the relation of its work to the preparation of teachers, by strengthening its instruction in pedagogy, arranging required courses for those preparing to teach, and by an organised effort to supply teachers to the schools applying for them. Re-

cent years have found the committee in charge of this work placing, during the year, as many as three hundred teachers; although, in justice to others seeking the same work, the university avoids seeking the places, and recommends teachers only on application from the schools.

It is thus seen that the ideal of the founders of the university is being realised in a constant supply of material from the public secondary schools to the university, with return to these schools of the intellectual product qualified to create a new supply. It will also be seen that the undergraduate women of the university are the chief factor in the realisation of this ideal.

President Adams in 1896 called attention to the incentive offered to women by the university in preparation to earn an honourable livelihood. President Van Hise repeated in 1906 the appreciation of the institution's duty to the state in providing for her "sons and daughters" a "training which will lead them to follow successfully various vocations." President Thomas of Bryn Mawr in 1907 expressed the main purpose of undergraduate women as follows: "A liberal college course prepares women for their great profession of teaching. College women have proved to be such admirably efficient teachers that they are driving other women out of the field.

Until other means of self support are as easy for women as teaching, more and more women who intend to teach will go to college. Such women will elect first of all the subjects taught by women in the high schools."[1] Professor De Garmo, from a wide experience in several coeducational colleges, emphasises the fact that young women devote themselves almost entirely to the literary courses which they propose to utilise later on as teachers. Julius Sachs of Columbia in an argument against coeducation has instanced as "the most serious objection that at the present moment can be formulated against the system," the fact "that the girls select from the courses offered what will rear a race of teachers."[2]

As teachers are a public necessity; and as William McAndrew is probably right in the opinion that from the standpoint of salaries only a few men who amount to anything feel that they can justly afford to teach; and as this sentiment is being generally emphasised by provision for the pensioned retirement of men who have sacrifised their material interests in this profession; it is indisputable that the preparation of women

[1] "Present Tendencies in Women's Education," *Magazine of Collegiate Alumnæ Association*, February, 1908, p. 51.

[2] "Coeducation in the United States," *Educational Review*, xxxiii., 303.

for this profession is one of the most important functions of a state university. It is also gratifying to realise that even in the opinion of an opponent of coeducation this preparation can be best accomplished in a coeducational institution.

Facts drawn from the history of the Wisconsin university amply sustain the opinion that has been quoted as to the purpose of women undergraduates and the cause of their elections of studies. They show also that the institution is justly fulfilling its obligations in this regard so far as secondary education is concerned. If many women have sought the university for purposes of general culture, the greater part of these have turned this culture into channels productive not only to themselves, but to the public. And by far the greater number of all in attendance have sought in education the means to "enable them to earn an honourable livelihood." Their necessity or desire for industrial independence may sometimes be temporary, but it certainly exists as a powerful factor in determining the course of their education.

In this regard there is a contrast between the women's college and a state university. Education at the former is more expensive and beyond the reach of many who need its advantages. In this difference in expense there is more than the

difference between public and private education, and from it women suffer more than men. President Eliot said in his annual report for 1904: "At present it costs nearly twice as much to send a girl to Radcliffe College as it does to send a boy to Harvard College, because former generations have provided educational endowments for the boy but not for the girl."[1] Moreover, education at a women's college is often sought by a class of women who are not considering these advantages with a serious purpose. A professor in one of the largest and most influential women's colleges has recently said: "A girl would take her college course more seriously if her parents would allow her to have ambitions for a life with purpose in it; with resources at her command, would encourage her to do something and do it well." Another teacher in a private school for girls says: "The private school consists as a rule of students who do not look forward to self-support." It is seen that the incentive, so often lacking in private schools and colleges for women, is present in a much larger degree in a state university. This is no great misfortune, for the women's colleges are entirely inadequate to the preparation of teachers. From a monograph by the president of Bryn Mawr, published in 1900, it appears that there are in the

[1] *Harvard Graduates' Magazine*, xii., 424.

United States only eleven independent colleges for women offering courses which compare favourably with those of the 336 coeducational colleges where women and men are taught together. The statement made by the National Bureau of Education in 1882 is no less applicable to-day. "It only remains to remind the reader that both the general instruction of women and the common employment of women as public school teachers depend, to a very large degree, on the prevalence of coeducation, and that a general discontinuance of it would entail either much increased expense for additional buildings and teachers or withdrawal of educational privileges from the future women and mothers of the nation."[1]

Even if material facilities could be provided for the necessary preparation in women's colleges a loss would result from separation. This was well expressed by President Angell of Michigan in 1903, in a public address on the advantages of coeducation. "One great public advantage I must briefly refer to. Before women were admitted to men's colleges, they could not generally secure so good an education as men. On this account, though they always formed the large majority of teachers in our schools, the instruction

[1] "Coeducation of the Sexes in the Public Schools of the United States." *Circular of Information*, No. 2, 1883.

which they gave was seriously defective. The fact that they knew this was depressing to them, and deprived them of confidence, even when, as was sometimes the case, their education was not inferior to that of the men. But when they were graduated in the same classes with the men, they not only had as good an education, but the knowledge of that fact inspired them with confidence, and brought new strength and vigour to their work. So that coeducating these women has affected the whole grade of work in our public schools."[1]

Even if as good a general education could be secured by women without coeducation, the women's college would still be at a disadvantage in not generally providing the best opportunities for highly specialised training. The profession of teaching has developed with other professions until the requirements of secondary education now demand specialised work of a high grade where a general culture would once suffice. In this respect a state university has an advantage over a women's college where the courses are more exactly arranged, and are without doubt better adapted for purposes of general culture. This is

[1] "Coeducation in Relation to other Types of College Education for Women," *Proceedings of the National Teachers' Association*, 1904, p. 549. University of Chicago Press.

no place to discuss the advantages and disadvantages of free electives; but it is an undoubted fact that of two young women of equal ability, one having specialised in a coeducational university, and the other having taken a general course in a women's college, the former would more readily and more profitably find employment in the secondary schools of Wisconsin. General culture may be the highest form of preparation for general educational influence; but it will not now alone meet the demands made upon teachers, and many teachers cannot add to this culture the specialised work now required by the secondary schools. Those who can afford this justly seek better positions. Wherever secondary education is coeducational, the graduates of coeducational institutions will be at an advantage. The experience in coeducational training is itself helpful in this regard; and this is recognised by the general practice of normal school education in all countries.

These reasons, then, lead women seeking a professional teacher's training to seek a convenient state university: economy, and the advantage of coeducation, which advantages are common to universities and normal schools; and the opportunity for the specialised work which is very generally demanded by the high schools, and which

the university alone offers. Women are not increasing in attendance at state universities because that sort of education is fashionable in the middle west, for it is unfashionable there as elsewhere. They are not seeking them for supposed social advantages, for those pursuing education for that end attend more exclusive schools. Some democratic parents think public education is advantageous to both their sons and daughters. Some are predisposed to send their children to their own alma mater. But the great majority of women as of men attend state universities because this is for their immediate material advantage.

In 1897–98, President Adams classified the students registered in the college of letters and science, during the preceding four years, according to the occupations of their parents. Excluding the children of widows who made 12% of the whole number, the children of fathers who had retired from business 4.5% of the whole number, and adult self-supporting students, those remaining were classified as follows: the children of farmers and dairymen 21.9%, mechanics and employees 17.9%, merchants and shop keepers 19.5%, professional men and public officers 20.7%, manufacturers 7.6%, bankers and brokers 3%, and the remaining 10% of miscellaneous occupations.

It appears from this classification that fully 60% of the students in the college of letters and science during those four years were children of working people or of those having little property. President Adams concluded from his investigation that, including the students in all departments, one-third were the children of farmers.

In 1892, a classification was made by the state department of public instruction of the patrons of 119 high schools. By this it was found that nearly one-half of the families represented in these schools were dependent upon farmers, day labourers, and widows; and that about one-half of the families represented were assessed as owning less than $1000 worth of property, more than three-fourths had less than $2500 worth, and only one in twenty-five more than $10,000 worth. These schools supplied a large part of the registration list of the university examined by President Adams, and the statement represents conditions in Wisconsin ten years ago. These conditions have undoubtedly changed somewhat, although, so far as the occupation of the parents is concerned, an investigation of the registration list of 1904 showed very little difference. With increased prosperity, a larger number of students are being sent to eastern institutions, and the state university largely remains the college for the poor man's children.

In no women's college of the country could a parallel be found.

Within the ten years between 1896 and 1907, the college of letters and science doubled, and the college of engineering quadrupled its attendance; and the course in agriculture was developed. All the facts combine to indicate the influence of industrial conditions upon the attendance of students and their elections.

The profession of teaching, though so largely adopted by women, still provides a livelihood for comparatively few. The national labour statistics show that domestic service provides for nearly one-fourth of all wage-earning women. The second occupation in the number of women employed is agricultural day labour. Next in order, teaching ranks with farming, dressmaking, and laundry work. Nearly five million women in the United States are supporting themselves and three-fifths of them are engaged in the occupations mentioned.

President Eliot thinks, since "the immense majority of women go into the one single occupation of rearing children," and since the world lacks much in "the material knowledge to be applied in the bringing up of a family," that "this normal occupation of women should be the main object of the training supplied in the higher

education of women. . . . That is the object that should be kept before young women in their colleges—the acquisition of the powers that will enable a woman to discharge well her main functions in life."[1]

President Eliot has been converted to the sincere advocacy of women's higher education; but, in the theory that this education should be so entirely subordinated to what he calls "the normal occupation of women," there still remains a distinct flavour of what Emerson defined as the "sensualism that intrudes into the education of young women, and withers the hope and affection of human nature by teaching that marriage signifies nothing but a housewife's thrift, and woman's life has no other aim."[2] The same spirit that formerly sought to limit woman's intellectual opportunities, in the fancied interest of her normal occupation, now leads some prominent educators to seek to direct them in the same interest. Modern civilisation, having in their judgment complicated the duties of the housewife, affords a field for the legitimate employment of women's intellectual powers which appeals to these educators. They are consequently reconciled to the improvement of oppor-

[1] "Woman's Education," *Magazine of Collegiate Alumnæ Association*, February, 1908, p. 104.

[2] *Essay on Love.*

tunities for higher education provided they may be employed in advancing women's normal occupation. They forget that this occupation is not dignified by being kept before young women in their colleges as the end and aim of their intellectual life; and that on the plane of a profession to be sought it loses the dignity which it derives from being normal.

Moreover, however plausible Dr. Eliot's theory of women's higher education may appear on any ground, if the resources for the higher education of women now available, or likely to be soon available, were to be devoted to keeping before young women "the material knowledge to be applied in the bringing up of a family," how would those be prepared who are, from public necessity no less than their own, obliged to enter some other occupation? Domestic service is the only occupation in direct line with President Eliot's theory of the higher education of women. Until women could locate themselves permanently in the normal occupation of rearing their own children, many of them obliged to seek means of supporting themselves could find it only here. The only use the world would have for their equipment, and the only remunerative chance they would have to apply the material knowledge supplied by their courses of study, would be as nursemaids or cooks.

Higher education is not for "the immense majority of women." This majority can be reached only in the great system of common schools which can undoubtedly supply girls with much valuable material knowledge to be applied in the home. For the small proportion of wage-earning women who can prepare for the only profession universally conceded to be appropriately and with public benefit pursued by them, advantages for a higher education will always be utilised for other ends than "the material knowledge to be applied in the bringing up of a family." It will be applied in the direction of disciplinary rather than technical training, and the homes available for the women who have had this discipline will reap its full benefit.

President Raymond of Vassar College said in 1870: "If one holds that the chief end of woman is to be married, . . . if her supreme obligation be to think first, midst, and last of wifehood and maternity, to hope for it, to plan for it, to educate herself for it, and then to wait for it, . . . the argument for her higher culture, though not entirely destroyed, must certainly lose much of its weight. But this doctrine is no longer respectable. It is equally unphilosophical, unscriptural, and vulgar. . . . The suggestion that the great business of woman is to wait for 'the coming man' is an

insult alike to woman and to God. . . . Let us teach our daughters to banish the idea as obsolete and unworthy, that by virtue of their sex they are born to be . . . mere appendages to men; let us exhort them as we do our sons, to find *their work*, and do it, and by the same token we shall bind ourselves to furnish them every needed means of preparation for independent activity."[1]

History has been called "the essence of innumerable biographies," and if it were possible to follow the complete biographies of all the women who have graduated from a great coeducational institution, much might be learned of the results of their training. An examination of the record which has been made during forty years of the history of the Wisconsin university should at least throw some light on the purpose for which women seek an education, the direction it takes, and the use they make of it.

The graduates of 1908 have as yet had no opportunity to report, but it is known that 60.8% of the women have secured positions to teach. From those of 1907, very imperfect reports are available, but it is known that 61.8% taught during the first year after graduation. There is

[1] Address before the Baptist Educational Association in Brooklyn in 1870, A. S. Barnes & Co., 1873, in *The Liberal Education of Women*, pages 44–46.

no reason to suppose that the statistics of these classes would ultimately modify the conclusions drawn from the preceding thirty-eight classes. Of the living members of these thirty-eight classes, the records show that three-quarters of the women are, for a time at least, self-supporting; that one-third may be regarded as a permanently self-supporting class; and that, at any given time, it is a conservative statement that 54% are at that time supporting themselves. Of those who are either temporarily or permanently self-supporting, 88% become teachers and 3.3% engage in library work. No other occupation has a representation of more than 1.5%. The average term of service of those temporarily self-supporting is about four years. This sustains the general statement frequently made that women marry at the average age of 26 years. Including the women of the first twenty classes now engaged in teaching, the average term of service is more than ten years.

Of the self-supporting women of the first twenty years, one-third are married. This class is constantly being augmented from the older graduates who, through misfortune or other causes, turn to gainful occupations. In time, this condition of necessity for a return to self-support will apply more generally to larger classes of graduates; and the recruits to the army of wage-earning

women received from this source will more nearly equal the number of those among the younger graduates who leave it for marriage or other reasons. There may be those who deplore this state of affairs; but, since higher education certainly brings more than a fair measure of health and longevity, it is a fortunate circumstance that it also brings the assurance of a tolerable degree of material comfort.

It is seen that an institution like a state university in a prosperous community is constantly sending forth recruits to the army of wage-earning women, one-half of whom are at any given time in the public service; while, of the other half, many are only temporarily otherwise provided for. Of the women who never become wage-earners, equalling about one-fourth of all who graduate, one-third are unmarried. They are not necessarily women of leisure because they are not employed outside their own homes. They represent about 8% of the whole number of graduates. Two-thirds of the unemployed, or 16% of the whole number of graduates, marry with no period of self-support.

In regard to the influence of coeducation upon marriage, it appears from the record that about one-third of all the women graduates who marry make the acquaintance leading to that result in college. There is no reason to believe that a

greater proportion of those in attendance who do not graduate marry men whom they meet in college. The reverse is rather the case. But few men marry within several years after graduation, and most women expecting to marry among their college acquaintances will prolong their college life if possible. On the whole, there is reason to think that coeducation has no influence whatever upon the question of marriage. The wider acquaintance of college life seems to be counterbalanced by the necessity for hard work which cannot be ignored by either sex.

Professor De Garmo made the statement in 1903 that, "probably not 25% of the college women who go into teaching ever marry."[1] Wisconsin graduates do not find this profession an insurance against marriage. The ratio of those who first teach and then marry, to the whole number who teach is for the first twenty classes, 55%; for the first twenty-nine classes, 45%; and for the first thirty-four classes, 37%. This brings us to the class of 1903, of which the temporarily self-supporting graduates would have just concluded the average four years of service.

The following statement, giving the ratio of women graduates who are married to the whole

[1] "Higher Education of Women," *Educational Review*, xxv., 346.

number graduated, should answer the repeated question, "Do college women marry?"

Classes Included	% Women Married	Classes Included	% Women Married
1869	100	1869–88	72.7
1869–70	100	1869–89	71.2
1869–71	100	1869–90	70.8
1869–72	93	1869–91	70.2
1869–73	93	1869–92	69.4
1869–74	93.3	1869–93	68.9
1869–75	92.1	1869–94	66.1
1869–76	86	1869–95	63
1869–77	83	1869–96	61.5
1869–78	81.4	1869–97	59.5
1869–79	80	1869–98	57.5
1869–80	77.4	1869–99	55.9
1869–81	76.7	1869–00	54.1
1869–82	74.7	1869–01	52.4
1869–83	72.3	1869–02	50.6
1869–84	72.9	1869–03	48.1
1869–85	73.1	1869–04	46
1869–86	73.5	1869–05	44.5
1869–87	73	1869–06	41.3

In the preparation of teachers for the secondary schools, the university is most effectively supplementing the work of the normal schools, and extending this service into fields which cannot possibly be reached by the latter. Of all the women graduating from the university, 66% enter upon the work of teaching, and their average period of service equals that of the women graduating from normal schools. The latter, moreover, are not qualified to fill the positions for which teachers are required by many high schools. Although seven-eighths of all the teachers in the public

schools of Wisconsin are women, only about 5% of these women are estimated to be university graduates. It is seen that with the increasing demand for better service, even for doctors of philosophy by city high schools, and for college graduates in all other high schools and many graded schools, the university has still an important work to do in preparing women for this service.

It would doubtless be for the advantage of secondary education if more men, and men of higher attainment would devote themselves to it. This is an industrial problem commended to the attention of educators who are concerned about the number of women at state universities. This number will never lessen while the services of women are so largely required in the public schools. The general relation of women to the common school system is the fundamental educational problem, if there be one; and the finding of a universally acceptable solution would be likely to absorb the energies of educational alarmists, much to the advantage of women desiring higher educational opportunities. To limit the opportunities of women to best prepare themselves for teaching by exclusion of any sort in any degree from any advantages, to subject them to any individual or collective masculine judgment of what is specially adapted for their needs, could only find

a fitting parallel in taking men's tools from the 600,000 women engaged in agricultural labour for hire, and compelling them to work with their bare hands.

To provide by segregation for those women who desire the pleasure and aristocratic seclusion of separate instruction, but who cannot afford to pay for it in women's colleges, or who wish to combine with it the social diversion to be found where young men abound, would not only be a burden to the state; it would be a grave injustice to women who realise that President Angell is right in the opinion that the strength and vigour of their work, and thereby the whole grade of work in our public schools, depend largely upon their coeducation. It would place these women where they would be conspicuous for a choice liable to be misunderstood and misinterpreted; it would be to make them odious to a certain class of students and instructors. To raise the sex question at all is to subject the most worthy and serious minded women students to covert insult and their motives to odious misrepresentation. If the least serious minded among the women students would consent to put others in risk of such results, it would be to sacrifice all *esprit de corps*, to a fancied advantage with professors who desire to change the settled policy of the institution.

If it is desired to remove the public school system from all suggestion of women's competition with men, if it is expected to separate all grades of public schools and find men to teach all boys over ten years of age, if it is to be agreed that such boys should even be removed from the demoralising influence of their mothers and put into boarding schools, then specialised public education for women may be properly considered. But there is a long road for educational reformers to travel before they reach that point, and the seven league boots of sophistry will not carry them over its intermediate stages. Notwithstanding this, specialised instruction is openly advocated by those who proposed segregated classes in the university of Wisconsin. Certain professors who had already initiated the practice, gave as a practical reason for doing so, that the instructional work could be more effectively done in classes exclusively formed of men and women on account of "the disproportionate interest which they take in certain phases of the subject"; and because, for example, "the men and the women were usually interested in different aspects of history," and because a professor in this subject found himself "naturally devoting most of this time to subjects in which" one sex or the other was "particularly interested," and "unconsciously

neglecting" the other. So far as women preparing to teach or even to marry intelligent men are concerned, it seems that nothing could be more wholesome than the neglect implied in the presentation of historical truth as it appeals to the masculine intellect.

If the college of letters and science may justly be termed the stronghold of liberal culture, it is no less true that its obligation to the state in the direction of professional training must be fulfilled. The policy of Wisconsin has always been most favourable to the complete performance of this duty. The ratio of women in this college will tend to increase in the measure in which this obligation is met. Any marked decrease or check in the tendency of women to increase their attendance would be in itself a warning to the people that a university was not, in a very important respect, justifying the claims which it is constantly making upon the state.

Walter Ballou Jacobs of Princeton said in 1901: "The Harvard Teachers' Association, like the sphinx of old, sits by and puts to the passing student perplexing riddles; and this is one of them, 'What do the people want?'"[1] The passing faculties of state universities find nothing

[1] "The People and the Schools," *Educational Review*, xxi., 448.

sphinx-like in the attitude of state legislatures which is more like that of Cerberus. Though sometimes fed on sops they have no difficulty in making their desires known, and these generally have direct application to certain practical needs that cannot be successfully evaded. In Wisconsin, at least, there is no conscious suggestion of such evasion.

The president of the university said in 1906: "If there is one feature which specially characterises the present administration of the university, it has been the emphasis of the university as the instrument of the state." He specially emphasised "co-operation with the state department of education, especially with reference to assisting in the upbuilding of rural schools. It is the aim to make the department of education as influential a factor in the development of the primary and secondary schools of the state as it is within the university. It is clear that the duty of the department of education is only half fulfilled if it is confined to the instruction of the students of the university." In the same year, the dean of the college of letters and science reported: "While the university has always given attention to the professional preparation of teachers, there is need for large advance in this direction. The teaching profession in Wisconsin as well as in other states has been

too much in the hands of those who are not properly professional teachers. The fact that more than one-fourth of the teachers in our schools are changed every year sufficiently indicates this. It is the duty of the university to give serious attention to the problem of preparing teachers for the secondary schools." It is seen that the university has not outgrown or neglected its purpose of 1860. It is seen also that the needs of the state in this direction have more than kept pace with the university's growth.

Considerable interest is being manifested in the election of certain lines of work by women to the neglect of other important subjects. It is argued, for example, that "sex repulsion" is accountable for the neglect by women of such subjects as political economy. This problem seems to have been overlooked in 1872, when a girl entered a Greek class of fourteen men, another recited with eight men, and another with nine men. These cases have been typical of others frequently occurring for more than thirty-five years, without rising to the dignity of a "problem." In 1881, President Bascom noted that "young women are preferring the modern classical course." This was just ten years after this course was first organised, at a time when about 50% of the students in the course were women. This ratio

increased to 79% in 1897, before the elective system was introduced. Men were attracted by the civic historic course before they could avoid Latin by elections.

Women as well as men are primarily guided in their elections by the subjects of which they expect to make practical use, and coincidence will account for many of the phenomena of their numerical distribution. A woman has comparatively few opportunities in high schools for teaching a single subject. Good opportunities have been lost by too great specialisation, as more would be lost by too little of this sort of preparation. Ordinarily two subjects, at least, will be prepared; and often three for the sake of more elasticity of opportunity. A typical case of preparation in two subjects is that of Latin and German, which is a very usual combination. The principals of high schools are very generally men; and, as a rule, not highly trained specialists. They are more likely to be competent men of general culture, as specialists can as a rule command better positions. These principals ordinarily prefer to teach history and political economy and the constitutional subjects required; although in a city school a woman may teach history, leaving the principal more time for the administrative duties usually combined with his instructional work.

Taking then, for example, the case of a woman preparing in Wisconsin to teach Latin and German, it will be found that the work required and ordinarily undertaken in the branches to be taught, with the work required in the strict line of professional training, added to the freshman work required of all students, would necessarily occupy 78% of her time. This allows only for the actual minimum of historical, English, mathematical, scientific, philosophical, and psychological study permitted for graduation.[1] An English literature course is very generally thought necessary. Few thorough students specialising in Latin and German will be satisfied to be entirely without French or Italian. A little more history, a great deal more English, are attractive to the prospective teacher. She cannot well afford to neglect opportunities, perhaps never again to be afforded, for more philosophy and psychology than the teacher's course makes absolutely necessary. Having less than one-fourth of her time left from required work for cultural purposes, is it an inexplicable phenomenon that she neglects almost entirely to elect political and economical work which is correlated very closely with commercial

[1] This is not a generalisation from catalogue sources alone, but is endorsed by the judgment of some of the most successful teachers among recent graduates.

and technical courses? Is it probable that the mere predominance of men in these courses is the chief influence in her neglect? Should it not be a matter of congratulation that the women do not scatter their energies in an effort to earn the New England epitaph, "She hath done what she could n't"?

Political economy as a cultural science should be attractive to both men and women. It is specially desirable that it should be correlated with historical courses. Not being so intimately correlated, and being very largely connected with business courses, it is not remarkable that it should be neglected by women with a definite purpose who have little time for elections outside the direct or indirect range of that purpose. The women students who are not eventually self-supporting are very likely to be those who take the cultural courses that appeal to them as matters of interest in a life of leisure. In women's colleges, and in men's as well, political economy has the advantage of being taught as a general cultural science. In a women's college, it often has its place in a carefully arranged course with few electives. In coeducational institutions where there has naturally been a keener rivalry of interest between cultural and material courses, it does not seem to have found

its permanent place. It was first cultural, as was all education; then correlated with historical work, and now more closely allied with business and commercial courses.

For the general predilection of women for the study of languages there has been evidence of more than three hundred years' standing which has never been disputed. It is of interest to recall this evidence in the language of Richard Mulcaster on the education suitable for women in England in the sixteenth century: "We know that they learne the best and finest of our learned languages to the admiration of all men. For the daily spoken tongues and of best regulation in our time, who shall so denie that they may not compare even with our kind in the best degree, they will claim no other combate, than to talk with him in that verie tongue, who shall seek to taunt them for it. . . . Nay, do we not see in our contrey some of that sex so excellently well trained, and so rarely qualified, either for the tongues themselves, or for the matter in the tongues: as they may be opposed by way of comparison, if not preferred as beyond comparison, even to the best *Romaines* or *Greekish paragonnes*, be they never so much praised: to the *Germaine* or *French* gentlewymen by late writers so well liked: to the *Italian* ladies who dare write themselves, and deserve fame

for so doing? Whose excellence is so gleason, as they be rather wonders to gaze at than presidentes to follow. And is that to be called in question, which we both daily see in many, and wonder at in some?"

Surely, the custom and inheritance of nearly three hundred and fifty years of Anglo-Saxon educational history should throw more light on the educational predilections of women, than any scarecrow constructed from the "sex repulsion" theory; which is merely the cast-off habiliments of an old prejudice appropriately stuffed with masculine egotism or feminine affectation.

CHAPTER X

SOCIAL LIFE

THE problem of social life in coeducational institutions is not a new one, nor does it vary greatly from the same problem as it is presented in colleges for men or for women. It is not a question of the demoralisation of either sex by association in intellectual pursuits with the other. It concerns the protection of opportunities for culture against the insidious encroachment of self-indulgence, idleness, and indifference on the part of students of both sexes everywhere.

In considering this influence, President Van Hise said in his Boston address: "My inquiries have led me to believe that the problem of social affairs in the women's college is perhaps as difficult to handle as that in a coeducational institution. Other things being equal, it cannot be asserted that the advantages of the one are superior to those of the other."

President Taylor of Vassar in discussing the higher education of women has recently said: "There has come over our country a great wave

of self-indulgence, coincident I think with the great wealth that has come to us, which is undermining the spirit of scholarship."[1] A professor of one of our largest women's colleges has presented the following picture of life at such institutions: "For college girls, recreation is coming to be regarded not for the sake of work, but unhappily as an end in itself, and work is looked upon as something to be endured for the sake of the so-called college life. Women's colleges have now to reckon with the influx of large numbers of girls, attractive, with social advantages and plenty of money, but from homes where study is looked upon as something burdensome and uninteresting and delight in learning and in books as almost inconceivable. . . . The whole world outside is in close contact with the world inside the college walls, and the danger now is that the influence from without will be far stronger in moulding the life than any influence from within. Amusement is the demand of the hour; emotionalism is the key-note of the literature and the drama. . . . The colleges show the effect of these influences. Amusements and good times play too large a part in a college career, and the plays running in the theatres are the

[1] "Advanced Training for Women," *Magazine of Collegiate Alumnæ Association*, February, 1908, p. 66.

commonplace of conversation, while the books of enduring value, old or new, are sadly to seek. . . . One of the disheartening things in college, as out of it, is the attitude toward the intellectual life. The scholar is depreciated. . . . Opprobrious and disgusting terms are applied to students who devote themselves to work at the expense of trivial amusements. . . . Twenty-five years ago, I should have said that if these present-day opportunities could be given, there would be many eager to gain the widest possible knowledge, exulting with great joy in their high privilege. It has proved otherwise. There are many who have shown themselves abundantly worthy, but few who have not had the spur of necessity to speed them on. It is very rarely the case that a rich student, however able, selects her studies from a scholarly standpoint. . . . The colleges have their shortcomings and they cannot be acquitted of blame. They have been well-nigh swept from their moorings by the flood tide of freedom resistlessly beating against all restraint and authority."[1]

The colleges for men are far from exempt from the evils that have been described. The New York *Nation* of July 16, 1908, comments forcibly

[1] "Hindrances to Intellectual Life," *Magazine of Collegiate Alumnæ Association*, February, 1908, p. 79.

upon "the progressive secular invasion of what ought to be the sacred leisure of the college student." Princeton and Yale are mentioned as conspicuous examples of institutions where "social pressure upon students is regarded by thoughtful graduates as almost a greater menace than the glorification of athletics." "The Yale faculty," it is said, "has set about curtailing the week-end privileges, which usually mean social dissipation, if no other kind." And the statement is justly made that "If the colleges were to be actuated by no other motive than self-preservation, they must see that a challenge of luxury and a resolute return to some of the Spartan virtues of the simpler life are their only means, in the long run, of preserving their influence either with the general public or their own students."

The social problem in education is universal. A little money, more or less, affects its magnitude but not its nature in the various institutions. Coeducation influences it chiefly in providing opportunities for the companionship of young men and young women who are busy, and, so far as the latter at least are concerned, innocent, instead of those who are probably idle and possibly vicious. Coeducation has the further advantage that this companionship is indirectly subject to

the will of an institution which must necessarily sift out and reject the idle and vicious elements. A naturally vicious or persistently idle young woman is an impossible element in a coeducational institution that has even a moderate estimate of its responsibilities and makes the feeblest attempt to meet them. The young man of similar tendencies is more easily distinguished in a coeducational institution than in a great university for men. The young women in our state universities have, in a much larger degree than the students in colleges for women, that spur of necessity which forces them to take their work seriously. The social problem in such institutions is thus in some respects less complicated and more easily solved than is readily the case in many colleges for men or women.

It is however not without difficulty in coeducation. Its results are probably less injurious to the individual, and more serious to the educational system than the same problem elsewhere. For example, no social excesses and extravagancies in a college for men would be directly laid to a monastic system of education, though in some degree possibly connected with such a system. On the other hand, every appreciable social excess in a coeducational institution is very readily attributed to the presence of women by

certain sons of Adam whose logical powers are as primitive as their sense of justice.

State universities are not only theoretically the great democratic strongholds of higher education. They are now, and must, if they perform their proper function to the state, always continue to be less directly influenced by the increase of wealth than private institutions. Notwithstanding this, social excesses are often present; and these may be even more injurious to the habits of the students and the dignity of the university in being but stale and unprofitable imitations of what the youthful imagination presents as college life in private institutions frequented by wealthier students.

In its social aspect "college life" may be defined as a four-years hiatus in the ordinary conventions of good society. It marks a period when, as the students too frequently say, "things we could n't do at home" become easy and natural though temporary accompaniments of good social standing. In no other state of society could there be such wide divergence from ordinary standards of conventionality with no loss of popular favour. That this is true is the fault of the general standard, not of individual students or groups of students. It is the community that creates a standard, and, in the matter under discussion, the college is the

community. That unconventional and undesirable conduct brings no loss of social standing, but rather the easy apology, "It is only a student," is a great injustice to the student and an injury to the institution. In both these respects the trust of the people is betrayed by the authority which the law creates, and upon which the people rely.

The gravity of the social problem in coeducation was more seriously considered when its practical development was entirely imaginary. The fears of the original opponents of the system having proved groundless, attention was diverted from the subject until minor difficulties have become formidable by neglect. Thus the present condition of the problem is only partially due to a development of circumstances common throughout the country. It has been aggravated by the indifference of those in authority, who, in coeducational institutions at least, dreaded so much that they easily overlooked what actually appeared. The ills they knew not of so minimised the ills they had, that it has taken nearly half a century to develop the latter into an appreciable problem.

Against the imaginary social evils of coeducation, the young women of Wisconsin were thirty years ago fortified by a really ridiculous array of restrictions and regulations. Against the real

danger of serious interference with the intellectual life by social dissipation their present protection is so slight as to be equally ridiculous. There has been in this regard a change of policy so great as to suggest that the social life of a university can as easily preserve its normal balance under such conditions as a Keeley institute patient, becoming a professional winetaster, could preserve his sobriety.

This change of policy is not without its excuse. The number of students has greatly increased, and this is frequently made the excuse for the failure in direction and supervision formerly practised. With increase in numbers has come the general adoption of election and specialisation from the freshman year. This has an indirect relation to the attention paid to general matters of educational value. Dr. Bascom called attention to this in 1882: "Moral education, the demand for which is being daily felt with increasing intensity, is much more closely allied to general than to special knowledge. The same, therefore, is true of manhood. This pre-eminently turns on the ability to give a sound theoretical and practical answer to those general questions which touch our relation to our fellow men. No special knowledge, however accurate, can at all cover in education the want of quick and just social,

moral and spiritual perception." The need to the state of this perception, "daily felt with increasing intensity" a generation ago, has not lessened; and the need to a university of its application must grow with the increasing number of students if this increase means organic development. To say that a systematic guidance in social affairs is impossible because of the size of an institution is to confess to a condition of fatty degeneration instead of sound development. With a faculty which more than numerically keeps pace with its students, a university should insist upon such organisation and attention to detail as prevents an army from outgrowing its discipline. It is not a question of size, but of change of spirit so radical that a reaction is inevitable.

So far as the social life of young women is concerned, the history of the Wisconsin university may be considered in three stages. There is first, a positive and minute supervision and control; second, an absolute relaxation of all restriction; and third, an attempt at recovery by the shifting of responsibility, and by indirect means.

The practice of the first period was expressed as follows by President Bascom reporting on discipline generally in 1875: "We strive to inspire a right disposition, more than to restrain a wrong one; yet we feel the need of a somewhat decided

and positive discipline when an occasion arises. As we give large liberty, we deem it right to require its wise use, and to punish with decision its abuse. . . . We feel that the young women in attendance at the university should be sheltered from the claims of general society, and that they cannot meet the exactions in dress, labour, and time incident to society, without suffering, either in health or in scholarship, or in both. . . . The ladies rooming and boarding in Ladies' Hall necessarily come under the restrictions incident to a quiet household, and we wish them and their parents to distinctly understand this." In the following year the regents declared: "While the board is responsible to the law for the fulfilment of all the obligations imposed in this respect [instruction], it is equally responsible to the public, and especially to the parents and guardians of students confided to their charge, for the enforcement of such prudent rules of discipline as the circumstances render obviously judicious and appropriate. Parents, therefore, should feel assured, and possess positive good reasons for the assurance, that those young ladies who, by their presence at the university, contribute equally to the honour and reputation of our educational system, while here specifically for educational purposes are sacredly exempt from every phase of social influ-

ence or instruction of an exceptional or obnoxious character, and that such exemption is required and enforced as a matter of good faith on the part of both regents and faculty."

In 1877 the regents again referred to this subject: "So far as coeducation relates specifically to the personal and social relation of the sexes, ordinary prudence suggests a considerable degree of conservatism. . . . There certainly exists no obstruction to the enforcement of such rules of discipline in respect to students in attendance upon the university as best conforms to the average views of parents and guardians, and a wholesome respect for public opinion."

Concerning discipline generally President Bascom reported at length in 1879. He included as one of four directions in which this discipline was then exercised by the faculty, "counsel given collectively and singly to students as to their duty to themselves, to each other, and to the state;" and added, "Those only should be in charge of a university with whom such counsel is spontaneous." In the same report he said: "The fitness of all discipline must be settled by close personal dependencies. It must aim to deal kindly yet firmly with young men; extending all the advantages there is a disposition to improve, and withdrawing all that are abused. . . . What is the true rendering

of that responsibility for discipline which ultimately rests with the regents? A wise and earnest faculty is to be provided, and the duty delegated to them. If they manifestly fail in its discharge, their error is to be corrected. If the error is extensive and chronic, they are to be replaced by other officers. . . . I need ask no allowance for this full statement of the condition of a sound discipline since no interest of the university is more critical or more important."

In June, 1882, the visiting committee of the university had much to say on the subject of discipline: "We deem it of the first importance to the prosperity and highest usefulness of the university that a uniformly kind yet firm and parental discipline should prevail in every department. The students who fancy that the burden is put upon them to decide questions of policy in the administration of the institution, are little likely to get the full benefit of that thorough intellectual training which the state aims without stint or grudging to afford to them. Since all appropriations from the public treasury for educational purposes are made upon the assumption that popular education is promotive of social order and good government, it is manifestly important that the discipline of the institution itself should be conducive to that end. . . .

Whenever the student fails gratefully to appreciate the generous provision made by the taxable inhabitants of the state for the liberal education of all, and assumes that it is something to which he not only has a right, but that it is his province to help administer it, he needs most of all to be taught some wholesome lessons of reverence for authority and of gratitude for benefactions. . . . Ladies' Hall should afford home influences and safeguards and wholesome restraints kindred to those which it has enjoyed during the past year, and which have done so much to give confidence to discreet parents and guardians that daughters and wards placed in the institution will be required to observe the proprieties essential to the best of homes. . . . It seems to us important that every instructor should deem it a duty and privilege to be helpful to those under their care in the kindling of worthy ambitions, and exerting over them a salutary influence. The responsibilities and opportunities of the educator are not confined to the classroom; they do not terminate with the recitation hours. If the highest idea of education is that it is character-building, then the careful supervision of manners and habits, as also the inculcating of correct moral principles, is of great importance."

These theories of education, after a single gen-

eration, are sometimes declared to be obsolete and impracticable. There is certainly such a practical change in administration as to suggest the opposite extreme. It is no longer the students' "fancy that the burden is put upon them to decide questions of policy in administration." It is certainly not an unwarranted assumption on their part that it is their "province to help administer" the provision made for them; and, judging from the following editorial from a recent student publication, which really represents faithfully the attitude of the students on the matter under discussion, a "wholesome lesson of reverence for authority" has been misplaced somewhere: "A meeting of the social committee was held at Professor ——'s house last night to discuss certain questions regarding promenade rules. No definite action in any line was taken, but the representatives from the five fraternities present were sounded as to their opinions of the present rules regarding boxes, house parties, and hours of closing. The general sentiment seemed not hostile to these details, but to the paternal stand as a whole which has been taken by the faculty towards these matters. It was generally agreed upon by the different members of the committee that such an attitude is uncalled for and disagreeable to university students who

have supposedly reached an age at which they are perfectly capable of taking care of themselves."

From 1882 to 1896, an occasional protest was made against the continued removal of restriction on the social life of the students, especially that of the young women. In 1884, the visitors of the university noted that, "With the Ladies' Hall in the university standing on the same footing of entire freedom from any restraint of authority (except the statute laws of the land) as are all the other halls of the university, the fear of loving parents is increasing." In 1888, the same committee recommended the abolition of the building as a dormitory on the ground that it was not consistent with the theory of coeducation, or popular as a residence. This course was not adopted. The building was renovated and the young women put under competent supervision, though there was but a short period of definite regulation of the social life. In the meantime the number of women in attendance at the university had increased so that instead of accommodating three-fourths of the whole number, it could receive only about one-fourth. This was the condition in 1896, when the regents referred to the increase in numbers of women students, saying: "This is striking testimony to the success and popularity of coeducation, and to the increasing desire on the part of women for

both practical education and higher culture. . . . It is certain that nothing can so effectually dispel the prejudice against social influences involved in the system of coeducation still existing in certain quarters . . . as the experience of the men and women students trained under the system of coeducation."

President Adams, however, at this time, considered that some measures should be taken to protect the intellectual interests of the students from too much interference. Recent visiting boards had declared their conviction that "the young women have too much social life," and that this "should not overshadow the intellectual life, but should keep a secondary place." President Adams in his report for 1896 said: "The social tendencies and inclinations of young men and women are as prevalent in a university as elsewhere. While experience has shown that the relations resulting from these tendencies are in general normal, wholesome, and even beneficial, still it would be useless to conceal the fact that there is sometimes a tendency to excessive recreation, and that for this reason it is desirable that the university should at times exercise a restraining influence." He noted that only about one-fourth of the young women resided in Ladies' Hall, where the task of "supervision is easy." Over those in club-houses and

in private homes he stated that it was difficult for the university to exercise control, although "It is a pleasure to add that in general none is needed. At the same time," he said, "it is hardly to be denied that benefits would be derived from such wise supervision as might be given by a large-minded, sympathetic, and scholarly woman of discretion, whose duties should be so comprehensive as to embrace the general oversight of all the young women in the university. . . . The position here suggested would be one of dignity and responsibility. The selection of a proper person would be a difficult one, for no one should be appointed to it whose education, tact, discretion and wisdom would not recommend themselves to uniform favour. . . . The person appointed should be so qualified to teach that her work would not compare unfavourably with that of the other officers of the faculty." In pursuance of President Adams' proposal a dean of women was appointed and made associate professor of classical philology. The office was held for three years, during which time there was organised a self-government association of the young women of the university.

There have been described three different theories of control over the social life of the young women. First, rules and restrictions were established as thought advisable by the faculty; second,

all restriction was gradually eliminated; third, an officer was appointed who should have the whole responsibility of restoring order out of the social chaos which prevailed, and the method adopted was to put the whole matter of social regulation in the hands of the young women themselves. The first of these systems was, in the degree to which it was applied, in part the natural inheritance of female college traditions; the second, a reaction following the enforcement of unnecessary restraint; the third, an attempt at recovery by inadequate means under new and difficult conditions.

Among the difficulties attending a return to uniform control of the social life, the following were prominent. Secret societies had greatly increased in number and influence, multiplying the occasions for recreation and opposing resistance to any reasonable degree of control. The number of women living outside the dormitory had greatly increased, and these students the university had never made any attempt to even advise. During this period of rapid increase in numbers, all appreciable restrictions had been gradually removed from the students residing in the university dormitory. About one-fourth of all the women resided with their parents, and were of course subject only to their control. There was a gen-

eral lack before this time of boarding-houses for women where more than three or four could be received, and thus, so far as residence was concerned, no groups were formed giving a convenient foothold for influence or control. As late as 1900, only about seventy young women were living in their respective fraternity houses, while now about two hundred are thus provided for.

It is seen that any system of self-government that could be attempted was on a very different basis from that of a college or university where there was practical homogeneity of daily life; or where the plan could be tried unhampered by the discouraging traditions and vacillating practices of the past, and unburdened by the necessity of immediate and radical reforms in the present. All the conditions which made uniform control difficult to the faculty were equally obstructive to a system of self-government. Such a system is, moreover, inadequate on other grounds. Self-imposed rules are always subject to revision and suspension without due consideration. The membership in such an organisation is so far from voluntary as to be little better than a fiction. All young women attending the university are supposed to be members, yet it is safe to say that a majority never gave their consent to such

membership, or attended a meeting. The president of the organisation published the statement in 1908 that "all women students are members by virtue of their registration in the university," and that "individual membership is not voluntary." Under these circumstances it is not surprising that the visiting board of the university should in 1908 report that "the self-government associations lament an indifference to their work." One-fourth at least of the members are under direct parental control and may naturally resent any interference whatever. Necessarily, of all presumptive members, at least one-fourth would change every year, and four years would change its whole personnel. If any community can be imagined as governing itself under such conditions, an analogy may be found for the substitution, in a university, of self-government for all other control.

In 1897 and 1899, the visiting board of the university emphasised the excess of social activity which they had observed; and in 1900 they called attention to the difficulties attending the regulation of social life by self-government. "The committee finds much to commend in the self-government association which aims to bring under the control of uniform, self-imposed rules all women students of the university. The committee

feels, however, that while the home life of the university is so diversified as at present, residence being, as stated above, either in Ladies' Hall, sorority houses, boarding-houses, or city homes, rules which would be applicable to all these classes must be very general in character; and that there should be more definite rules regulating the social life in the Hall and the sorority houses, which are under the direct control of the university authorities. It would seem to be no injustice to impose more rigid regulations upon such residents than upon those boarding outside or living in their own homes. Your committee finds also a distinct weakness in the self-government association in its inability to enforce its authority. Membership in the association is not voluntary, but is imposed upon a young woman simply because she is a student at the university. It arises naturally, therefore, that such students as are not in sympathy with the association should refuse to recognise its authority. The committee feels that the greatest weakness in the present system of directing the life of the women students is in the lack of personal responsibility for the enforcement of rules, whether these rules be made by the self-government association or by the university authorities. Your committee would be better satisfied if the person who is the resident head of

Ladies' Hall were given such authority over and charged with such responsibility for the students residing in the Hall, as is exercised by the wise mother of daughters of similar age. This system might be extended to the sorority houses by making it a condition of their existence that a certain person or persons be directly responsible to the university authorities for the enforcement of such definite rules as might be adopted. Compliance with rules on the part of women living in boarding-houses or private homes must be largely a matter of individual volition, and it would seem that at this point the self-government association might be very materially aided by certain definite restrictive rules imposed by the university authorities, applicable to both men and women students, such as regulation of the number and hours of formal social gatherings. Your committee feels that, while self-government is the ideal of all government, yet it is inadequate to the conditions existing among a large body of undergraduate women in a coeducational institution, and that it should be supplemented by direct outside authority, at least until the plan has been more fully developed."

It must be readily admitted that no social control can be exercised over students in their own homes, and very little over those in independent boarding-houses. Although the univer-

sity has no ownership in the fraternity houses, no group of students in such residence could afford to disregard restrictions sought to be established over them by the faculty. So far as the women are concerned, through supervision of the chaperonage of their fraternity houses as much control could be exercised there as in a dormitory owned by the state.

Any system of self-government, embracing all the women students, is a sacrifice of by far the greater part of what could be easily and justly maintained over nearly half the women, for the sake of the very slight influence which can be uniformly exercised over all. Any such system, moreover, gives no assurance whatever to parents that any responsible effective guidance will be afforded to their young daughters wherever they may be placed.

In 1902, the visitors again recommended the appointment of a woman who should have supervision of the women students, adding: "The woman in this responsible position should live among the largest number of women students possible . . . at Chadbourne Hall. . . . This necessitates a strong practical woman of education whose foresight and example may stimulate the women students to lead earnest and useful lives." In 1903, the same committee "would respect-

fully emphasise the need of more supervision over the life of the young women, especially those who are at the university for the first time." In 1904 it reported: "We think our women students should have the sympathy and intellectual stimulus of more women in the faculty, and should if possible be more associated with them in their daily lives. A daily association with women of broad culture and a university training would afford a stimulus as valuable as anything that can be received in the class room. There are seasons when the social life of the university amounts to an undesirable dissipation for all the students. These seasons occur generally as an accompaniment to some event that disturbs the whole life of the university. So far as the women are concerned, it is believed that some modification of these seasons of festivity is not only desirable, but would be gladly received by them. We think best to call attention to one abuse in the social life of the university arising from the multiplication of the secret societies. There are about twenty-five such societies among the men and women. Since each one gives at least two formal dancing parties during the year, these parties have become too prevalent in the middle of the week."

The abuse just referred to became so great that the faculty was forced to correct it. This appears

from the president's report made in 1906 with the reasons for the necessity of faculty action. "Some years ago the self-government association adopted the rules that no parties should be held upon other days than Friday, Saturday, and legal holidays; and that all parties should close before midnight, except by special permission of the faculty. While these rules were at first partially carried out by the young women, there developed an increasing tendency to disregard them. In consequence of this, last year, upon the recommendation of the social committee (of the faculty) the rule was definitely adopted by the faculty that 'no parties shall be held on other days than Fridays, Saturdays, and legal holidays, except as authorised by the faculty social committee; all parties shall close on or before midnight, except by special permission of that committee.' There has been a serious attempt upon the part of the committee to enforce these rules, and the committee believes that, in general, they have been obeyed. . . . Notwithstanding the advances which have been made, more remains to be accomplished in the control of social affairs. Of much more importance than this is the development of a dominating sentiment among the young women that they are here for educational purposes, and that social engagements shall be subordinate to

such purposes." He announced the appointment of a woman to the office of adviser to the women students, and added: "Upon her will rest the responsibility of leadership in still further improving the social condition of the young women of the university."

In the report just quoted, there is a distinct gain in four directions. First, the admission is made that self-government is ineffective, and that it must be supplemented by faculty control. Second, it is recognised broadly that the faculty has direct power of control over the fraternity houses, not only of the women but also those of the men, where occurs much of the social dissipation sought to be corrected. Third, it is shown that the faculty recognises its responsibility for assuming this control. Fourth, the young men and women are put upon precisely the same basis and the indirect method of controlling the young men's entertainments by a self-imposed obligation on the part of the young women to interfere with them is abandoned. This method of indirect control is very justly obnoxious to young women. An invitation may be courteously accepted or refused. Conditions may not be courteously imposed in acceptance. It is not at all surprising that they had "developed an increasing tendency to disregard" rules that

applied to the nature of entertainments over which the makers of the rules had no other influence than as guests. The young women had assumed a prerogative not justly theirs, which, on the part of the faculty, became at once just, reasonable, and effective.

The attempt to enforce the rules of the social committee has been very successful. Mid-week parties are practically abolished. The regulation as to the number of entertainments permitted is less effective because there is no limit to the number of week-end festivities. While there is still great need of reform in Wisconsin, the conditions have been much improved, and are believed to be better than those of some similar institutions.

A very important supervisory influence is exerted by the faculty social committee in requiring the adoption of house rules by the various women's fraternities, and the filing of copies of these rules with the secretary of the committee. They are thus formally endorsed or returned for revision, and finally become virtually rules of the committee itself and under their direct power of enforcement.

With some effective system of co-operation with the chaperons of the women's fraternity houses, and more effective control of the dormitory owned by the university, making the life there an

example of what sensible parents desire for the protection of their daughters; and with the prompt remedy of any social abuse generally recognised by the people, in the same manner and by the same authority that mid-week parties were abolished, ample protection would be afforded the intellectual interests of the young women of the university.

CHAPTER XI

SOCIAL ABUSES AND PROPOSED REMEDIES

WITH any improvement in existing social conditions there is too frequently a disposition to rest satisfied with what has been accomplished, and to ignore abuses generally recognised or to seek their remedy by indirect means. This is illustrated in Wisconsin by the history of the festivities connected with the junior promenade.

The sentiment against certain features of these entertainments was forcibly expressed by the visiting committee of 1906. "The marvellous growth of the university has led to a rapid increase in the social duties among the students. The extent to which these social pleasures has been carried has had a very undesirable effect on the students and the university. We would recommend that a restraining hand be placed upon the house parties. During the junior promenade days, the fraternities invite the girls whom they are to take to the junior promenade, to be their guests from Friday until Monday, one or more mothers chaperoning the house party. At these

house parties, one social event follows close on another, and by the end of the three days both boys and girls are completely tired out and fortunate if they are not sick. Each year the house parties are a little more elaborate and extravagant than the year before, and we feel that there is only one course to pursue—to abolish them entirely."

These opinions have been frequently endorsed by the press, and by citizens generally. The ball itself would not be criticised. But three days of uninterrupted gaiety centring about the fraternity house parties, with their excesses and imitations of what inexperience and imagination may suggest as aristocratic entertainment, furnish the annual spectacle of a social extravaganza unparalleled outside of "college life."

These house parties are of course properly chaperoned. But they differ from ordinary entertainments of the same sort in several important respects. All imaginable elements that appeal to the youthful imagination as formal, aristocratic, and luxurious are emphasised to an extreme degree. Each young woman of the party is the guest for several days of some particular young man, and in many cases leaves her own home or boarding place in the same town to live during this time at his expense. At least a score of young

people are brought together for intimate association for whose selection or acquaintance no one person is responsible, and for whose introduction the chapter reputation of a Greek letter society is the only guaranty. As a rule the chaperon is a stranger to all but a very few of those to whom she is a favoured guest instead of a responsible hostess.

The elements here involved make up a curious mixture of unconventionality and formality, intimacy frequently combined with the slightest personal acquaintance, irresponsibility and the provision of uninterrupted entertainment. It all affords what the young people may, in college vernacular, justly term "the time of their lives"; for it is to be doubted whether, either in experience or anticipation, it is to be known outside the four years devoted to securing a college education. It should in justice be added that no serious scandals have arisen from these parties; and that the houses are vacated for the exclusive use of the young women, save for general social purposes, which generally include all meals. The most serious objection, aside from that of a false standard of what is appropriate in relation to the ordinary life of the students, is the weariness and danger to health which necessarily immediately precedes the beginning of a semester's serious

intellectual work. On this ground these house parties have been criticised by visiting committees, and by the press of the state; and an attempt has been made to at least discourage them by indirect means.

The women of Madison who had formerly been members of local chapters of the various women's fraternities adopted the resolution given below. It was presented to them by a member of the faculty social committee, and after adoption was referred for action to the active members of the various chapters. "Whereas the house-parties at the men's fraternity houses are by many thought to be injurious to the social life of the university and the health and social habits of the students who participate in them: Resolved: That we urge upon the young ladies of our respective societies that they do not attend these parties, and that they offer the hospitality of their own homes to the young ladies who come to Madison for the purpose of attending the junior promenade, and that the ordinary house rules governing our own fraternity houses be not suspended for any of the evenings during the occasion."

To this resolution the active chapters unanimously made in effect the following reply, though it was not formulated by all: "We decided that inasmuch as we as guests had seen nothing ob-

jectionable in the house parties attended, we would leave all action to the social committee [of the faculty] and the regents of the university." The matter was then referred to the faculty social committee with a request that they should advise the young women on the subject, which request they did not consider it expedient to grant.

The board of visitors expressed in 1908 an opinion implying that the control of social life relating to house parties should not be expected either from students or alumni. Their report said: "The regulations as to mid-week parties are very generally observed. But the house parties held in fraternity houses during junior promenade week are still a mooted question. Here the social committee is at variance with the opinion of many and is loth to take a stand against them. They say that since the fraternity houses have been foisted upon the university by the alumni, the alumni should take the initiative in forbidding the use of their houses for such parties. It seems to us the question should be met fairly and squarely by the faculty and regents,—by the social committee, since the results are directly under their observation, and the alumni should sustain whatever position they take. We believe the house parties have been for the most part conducted

with decorum and under fairly good chaperonage, but we cannot commend the practice that prevails which necessitates the giving up of the house for the entertainment of the young women guests for a week-end party. Students are compelled to give up their houses, remove their effects, and crowd together wherever they can get accommodations, entailing confusion, and discomfort, which added to the dissipation crowded into a few days is too exhausting, and does not ensure proper rest for either party. The house entertainments are too lavish, and tend to an extravagance that many students and parents can ill afford and is severely censured by most parents. It is not necessary. Young ladies from away who are allowed to attend the junior promenade must be entertained and properly chaperoned, but the parents should be charged with the responsibility and not the young men."

One other resolution passed by the same group of Madison women, and the answer made by the active chapters, are of interest as illustrating the social burden thought to accompany the occupancy of a fraternity house by women. The resolution is as follows: "Resolved that we urge upon our respective societies that it would be for the advantage of the university and of their own social life if each would give but one dancing party during

the year." The answer made was: "We vote a positive 'no' as we believe two parties are an absolute necessity."

As the faculty puts no limit on the number of these parties, and as two are uniformly recognised as an "absolute necessity," there is a very considerable margin as to what any group of girls may consider a desirable degree of this kind of hospitality. Hardly one of these girls comes from a home where an annual ball would be considered as possible or desirable. Many of these entertainments are given in the fraternity houses. The amount of disturbance to regular work involved, as "an absolute necessity," is thus more than double that which a well ordered home would permit with a full complement of mature persons to assume the burden of hospitality.

Although in general the life in the women's fraternity houses is very advantageous to the young women, and certainly as carefully guarded as that in the university dormitory itself, there is no possible denial of the fact that some check should be placed upon the amount of social dissipation thought necessary or desirable by the young women. Thoughtful parents will not long consent to a degree of social activity which would be regarded as an unendurable burden in any well regulated home being attached like a millstone

to the advantages and opportunities which their own sacrifices of money, of service, and of companionship are making possible for their young daughters.

By far the most serious social disturbances of the college year occur in the period between the close of the examinations and the first day of the vacation. There has been a disposition to regard this period as one for absolute and unrestrained social dissipation, involving theatre parties, which are followed by midnight suppers and balls, which may terminate with breakfast at the house where the entertainment is given, or may stop just short of that point.

In 1876, the regents declared it to be a part of their legal responsibility to the public to protect the young women from every phase of social influence "of an exceptional or obnoxious character, and that such exemption is required and enforced as a matter of good faith on the part of both regents and faculty." The parties to which reference has been made are at present the most "obnoxious" features of university social life. Appeals have been made to the proper authorities for the checking of these entertainments but so far without effect.

Concerning these entertainments the board of visitors said in 1908, "Besides the question of

house parties there should be some regulation of the affairs of commencement week. The general impression exists that all rules are off and infringements of good taste and propriety are reported." The committee added in this connection that out of town visitors to the commencement exercises were much to blame for the conduct criticised.

Any institution which would really serve the state in education, must sooner or later recognise its absolute responsibility in supervision of the social life of its students. Wisconsin has recognised this responsibility to a certain extent. It has grasped the problem, but in student control, especially general social control through the young women, has arrived at no satisfactory solution.

Wherever the dormitory system is employed for the convenience and advantage of a large number of young women, it is to be hoped that such a course will be accompanied by a full realisation of the responsibility which it entails; and that an ample provision will be made for meeting such responsibility in the appointment of women to university faculties who, by residence among the young women, would exert a wholesome and restraining influence upon their social life, while stimulating them by example to a faithful endeavour in the intellectual life. It should also be remembered that the residence of nearly one

hundred girls in one building inevitably increases the difficulties in the way of the personal association required for the desired influence and stimulus.

While President Van Hise, in his address at Boston, recognised that social affairs in women's colleges were probably as difficult of regulation as in coeducational institutions, he noted the importance of the latter, and outlined his theory as to the reason for the difficulty and its remedy: "In the coeducational institution there is a tendency for the men to fix the standards not only for themselves but for the women. With the increase in numbers in coeducational institutions of men and women with no very serious purpose, there is undoubtedly a tendency among the women to regard as successful the one who is attractive to the young men—in other words, social availability rather than intellectual leadership is regarded by at least a considerable number of young women as the basis of a successful college career. . . . So far as I can see this obstacle will always be a real one in coeducational institutions. A satisfactory solution of the problem will be accomplished only by a recognition of its existence, by the development among the young women of their own ideals through insistence that they shall set their own standards in coeducational institutions, as

in the women's college, that they shall not accept the standards of the least earnest fraction of the young men—that of social availability." As he also specifically emphasises the opinion that the difficulties of the social problem are as great in the women's college as elsewhere, it is difficult to realise just what advantage would be gained by the substitution of some feminine standard, "as in the women's college." A new problem and one as "difficult to handle" would be added to the present one, the social elements of which must still remain whatever efforts might be made to segregate them.

President Van Hise also said: "The social life in coeducational institutions, which did not exist at all in early years, is now an attraction to many young women. In short, a college education has become popular. This has naturally led to considerable numbers of young women going to college who have no serious scholastic purpose."[1] In passing, it may be of interest to note that the social life in the university of Wisconsin had "in early days," among its discouragers of sociability, a strict regulation that no young woman residing in Ladies' Hall could accept an invitation from a young man more frequently than once a term. The coeducational social problem "in

[1] *Educational Review*, xxxiv., pp. 514, 515.

early days" was one in which the young women were absorbed in trying to bring about the juxtaposition of the right man and the enjoyable occasion. It was a difficult problem, but it did not under ordinary circumstances engage the attention of college faculties. It is of more consequence to show that there has been at the Wisconsin university positively no relative increase in the number of young women with "no serious scholastic purpose." The history of the institution demonstrates that this class of students has diminished since early days.

In 1871–2, more than one-half of all the women registered in the regular college work of the university were special students, of whom only 15% ever graduated. In addition, the women preparatory students nearly equalled all those in the special and regular college lists taken together; and of these preparatory students only 7½% ever graduated. From 1872–1874 about one-half the women doing college work were special students, only 4½% of whom ever took a degree. The preparatory class was relatively smaller, equalling one-fourth the number of all women registered. But of the latter class, again, only 7½% ever finished a college course. Of men also a very large proportion in attendance were special or preparatory students who remained but one year.

President Bascom referred to this condition in his report of 1875. "Time and stability are with us urgent needs. A portion of our instability is referable to poverty; but a large remainder must be attributed to a low estimate of thorough scholarship, and to a haste to enter, ready or otherwise, the work of life. No one thing has distressed us more in the university than this haste, the ease with which the young men drop out, the advantage which they anticipate from one or two terms. . . . We must have material of a firmer and tougher fibre than this before we can do thoroughly good work. The firmer movement, the steady advance of our instruction from term to term, and year to year, are greatly impeded by floating students. A student for one term is worth little to us, and we are comparatively little to him. We hope those who come to us will seek solid protracted work, and we will do our best to aid them. We now insert in our catalogue the names of those only who belong to the university at the time of its publication. Many students, for one term, or for two terms, do not, therefore, appear in it. This is the explanation of its reduced numbers. The reduction has been attended with an increase of strength. The graduates of our graded schools fall away rapidly in the freshman and sophomore years, partly

because of poor preparation, and partly because many of them, allured by free tuition, come to the university with no intention of remaining." The practice of dropping the transient students from the catalogue accounts for the apparent failure of the university during these years to show any perceptible growth and for an occasional actual diminution in numbers. For the same reason the actual improvement in personnel during the same period was not so rapid as would appear from the catalogues.

In the early seventies education for women was expensive, and difficult at any price. The university had just completed a large dormitory and extensively advertised the educational advantages offered to women. As a consequence in a single year their attendance was doubled, a circumstance which is unique in the whole history of the university. Among the women entering at this time were many with no adequate high school training, and many who had been diverted by considerations of economy from their intention to enter girls' fitting schools and seminaries. There is no period in the history of the university when there was such a sudden influx of women with no realisation of what was required in college work, and "with no serious scholastic purpose."

If the statistics of relative registration and

graduation prove anything, they show a steady and marked increase in the seriousness of the purpose of the Wisconsin women undergraduates. For the twenty-two years following 1870–71, the average proportion of women graduated each year to the whole number of women registered, exclusive of preparatory students, is 12%. For the fifteen years following this period, the average annual proportion of women graduates to matriculates is 18.4%. For the last ten years of the period last considered, the proportion is 19%; for the last five years of the same period, 18.9%; for the last three years, 19.7%; and for the last two, 20.2%.

For the men, the following statement may be made. For the twenty-two years following 1870–71 the average annual proportion of graduates to matriculates, is 16%; for the next fifteen years, 19%; for the last ten years of the latter period, 19%; the last five years of the same period, 17.8%; for the last three years, 17.9%; and for the last two years, 18%. It is seen that there has not been so great an improvement in the undergraduate body of men as of women.

Another comparison may be made which seems even more conclusive. Of six freshman classes in the early seventies, about 30% of all the women eventually graduated. The following statement

shows the ratio of the men and women registered each year as freshmen since 1895, who have graduated at the present time:

	% of men.	% of women.		% of men.	% of women.
1895–96	51	47	1900–01	43	62
1896–97	60	58	1901–02	44½	71
1897–98	54	62	1902–03	41	69
1898–99	59	67	1903–04	40	60
1899–00	50.6	56	1904–05	39	51½

In the above statement the freshman registration of the college of letters and science is alone considered, but the men are counted as graduates if a degree was eventually received in any department whatever. The ratio of the last few classes will finally be slightly increased, and this will be more to the advantage of the men than the women, as more of the former interrupt their course to earn money.

The commerce course is that course of the college of letters and science which, although generally covering the same ground under the same instructors as other courses in the same college, is practically developed most in the direction of segregated classes. It is of interest to note that in this course the ratio of men graduated to those matriculated is below the average. Of those registered as freshmen in the commerce

course in 1903 but 32%, and in 1904 39%, have finished a course.

Many students now enter the university with an advanced standing, and complete the course in two or three years. These are almost all earnest students, whose purpose is well grounded and thoroughly tested. The actual number received from this source by the women very nearly equals the loss of those freshmen who do not remain for four years. The average annual gain in numbers from this source, from 1895 to 1905, is 40.2; and the average annual number of freshmen lost is 43.3. It is seen that not only do about 60% of all the women registered as freshmen graduate, but the places of those who for various reasons do not receive a degree are taken by a superior class of students. It must be remembered, however, that by no means do all that fail to graduate lack a serious scholastic purpose. The facts show that a majority who register as freshmen actually prove their purpose by their perseverance, and their ability by their success, that their relative numbers are increasing, and that a large number of superior students is added to each class after it has passed its freshman year.

These facts are still further shown by the following comparison. Of all the women registered in regular undergraduate college work in 1884–85,

54% finished the course; in 1885–86 this ratio was 57%; in 1895–96, 63.5%; in 1903–04, 72.4%; and in 1904–05, 79%. President Bascom said in 1888: "The university of Wisconsin has given full and free extension to coeducation, and is distinguished above other similar institutions in the number of young women whom it graduates. This portion of its history has been very successful. This fact in years to come will be recognised as chief among its claims to be a great social power."

Some members of the Wisconsin university faculty are quoted as saying that the standards applied to the work of the women are not as severe as formerly, or as severe as those applied to the work of the men. There is more idle flippancy than justice in such statements. If true, they afford the severest criticism that could possibly be made of the faculty itself, and the most effective argument that could possibly be advanced against the practical working of the system advocated for the segregation of the sexes in the classroom. There is one obvious remedy for any possible deterioration in the justice and common sense of a faculty as exposed by members who injure themselves in attempted depreciation of the women students, whether this be by graduating them when they do not deserve it, or by underestimating work honourably accomplished. A

faculty which is loyal to an institution will be just to all its students by maintaining uniform standards of work.

In the standard of its women students, at least as shown by relative registration and graduation, there is a marked improvement in the condition of the university. This improvement seems to have been quite steady and uniform, and there is no reason why it should not continue. There is no possible reason why an institution which respects itself should retain for more than a few months any student who manifests a disposition to regard "social availability" as the "basis" of a "successful" college career. Every college establishes its own basis for the successful career of its students, and students present on a different basis should be promptly eliminated. They are very easily detected, at least among the women.

President Garfield of Williams College forcibly expressed the relation which an institution should establish with the purpose of its students. In his inauguration address in 1908 he said: "If a student seeks a pleasant place of residence in which to while away four pleasant happy years of carelessness, let him not seek entrance to the college whose aim is high and serious. He will be out of place there." He divided the men seeking colleges into three classes, the third being "men

whose most striking characteristic is lack of purpose. . . . The young man who enters college and remains there without discovering an earnest purpose . . . ought not to be in college. He is an unprofitable member of the community. . . . In the language of the campus this man is a loafer . . . The men against whom we should close the doors promptly and effectively are those who loaf because they choose, and who do not propose to change their occupation. For the college to do otherwise is to foster and encourage qualities most hurtful to the great object we are seeking to accomplish." Here is emphatic testimony that a very considerable number of undesirable students are present in institutions where loafing is not to be attributed to the attractions of the opposite sex. The remedy proposed is not the provision for sections where serious students may be protected from their demoralising influence, or an appeal to the students to create a sentiment against idleness and intellectual deterioration. The presence of the undesirable student is not even regarded as a real obstacle to the educational system which has evidently fostered and encouraged him. The responsibility is placed where it belongs, upon the college itself, and the remedy proposed is to "close the doors promptly and effectively" against idle students who "do not

propose to change their occupation." The same remedy would be effective in any system of education. The Wisconsin university board of visitors reported in 1908: "The elimination of the unsuitable student for whatever reason should be rigorously pursued without favouritism; particularly no 'special quizzes' for the weaker sex. For women we do not advise segregation but elimination, and ask the maintenance of an equal standard by which men and women shall be impartially judged."

It is not probable that the deterioration of the intellectual or social life of colleges and universities depends primarily upon the presence of large numbers of undesirable students. No institution can afford to advertise its own disgrace in harbouring them, by maintaining such a position. This deterioration depends largely upon the very remedy for the evil which is proposed by President Van Hise, in the great readiness of students, both among the men and the women, to "set their own standards" of what is a suitable measure of diversion, and a proper method of its enjoyment.

A prominent alumnus of Wisconsin has recently voiced the opinion of the older graduates generally as follows: "I do not wish to be understood that there are not serious problems involved in coeducation, but I should not include the

percentage of attendance of men and women on certain subjects. The great problems are rather in the region of manners and morals, and it is very plain to the most superficial observer that they cannot be solved by the proposed system of segregation. What the university of Wisconsin needs is a more earnest spirit among its students. No student, whether man or woman, ought to be tolerated without this spirit. The social life at the university is too much dominated by the half formed young men and women who are not fitted to be leaders in society, nor to say what society should be. The social life of the university should be dominated by mature, cultivated men and women who understand the well settled conventions of civilised polite society, and who will insist upon their observance and promptly expel any young man or young woman who does not conform to them. If those who are agitating the question of segregation would turn their attention to these graver matters they might render to the university and to the state a very great service."

There is no doubt that many students seek the state universities with little social training, or with habits of license that are becoming too prevalent even in the better sort of American homes. To these a university should offer some

guidance, instead of permitting all the temptations to youthful social aberration to be emphasised. Professor James of Harvard, speaking to the Association of Collegiate Alumnæ said of universities and colleges in their human relations: "They redeem you, make you well bred. . . . The feeling for a good human job anywhere, the admiration of the really admirable, the disesteem of what is cheap and trashy and impermanent, this is what we call the critical sense, the sense for ideal values. It is the better part of what men know as wisdom."[1] These words which he applied broadly in the estimate of the purpose of intellectual training, have force in defining the standards of the social life of colleges. If these institutions shall have no standards of their own, the solution of their social problems may be evaded, but they can not be settled.

Natural refinement, culture, and opportunity are all essential elements in establishing a proper standard of social life. What may any body of students be expected to possess of this equipment? It is to be hoped that they would have some degree of that first named. The culture they seek it is a university's purpose to supply. Matriculation does not suddenly endow students

[1] "The Social Value of the College Bred," *McClure's Magazine*, xxx., 419, 420.

with this possession. Of opportunity, if well prepared for this culture, they have had nothing whatever. The university immediately presents to them an unlimited field for experiment. Under these circumstances, without direction, they are often led to the admiration of what is least admirable, the desire for what is least desirable, the esteem "of what is cheap, trashy, and impermanent."

Students only too readily assume that all experience is theirs. They at best import a multitude of conflicting standards which they confidently seek to reconcile. The result is such confusion and incongruity that any imaginable entertainment in their hands is equally liable to resemble a barn raising or the youthful ideal of an ambassador's banquet. The most serious criticism to be made of the social life of a university is the total lack of any reasonable standard either in degree or kind. This standard can never be supplied by the students themselves. As the unrestrained lawlessness and disorder of a certain class of students may tend to unfit them for citizenship; so the independence and crudeness resulting from the attempt of students to be a social law unto themselves must unfit them for the social life that naturally belongs to their attainments.

It is to be confessed that, with any reasonable

degree of regulation, many a young woman has in college more temptations to give undue attention to social engagements than she will ever have again. On this account she will find great difficulty in adjusting herself sanely to college social life. She is likely to be carried away by the novelty of it and sorely tempted to make the most of it. To call upon these students to redeem the whole social habits of an institution whose social pace has been accelerated by years of indulgence and encouragement, is as unreasonable as to expect the summer clouds to defy the currents of the air and move in geometrical diagrams across the sky.

In three respects college social life is conspicuously ill bred, and quite contrary to the life in any reasonably well ordered home. It is not sufficiently subordinate to the serious purpose of the institution. It is too generally subject to Will-o'-the-wisp standards instead of those well recognised by good society everywhere. It is especially demoralising in cultivating a sentiment which places an obligation upon young women to frequently and conspicuously spend time and money in returning the social attentions of young men. In these three respects any institution has the difficulty quite readily within its own control.

Rightly directed the social life of a coeducational institution should be of particular benefit to its students, for only in such an institution are normal social conditions possible. It should give occasion for social enjoyment, without the pressure of responsibility which makes general society exacting and oppressive. In allowing this responsibility to be so generally assumed by the students themselves, artificial claims are established that even serious students find it difficult to evade; the general tone of social life is lowered by the incapacity or frivolity of its leaders; and the institution itself suffers in dignity and in power to serve its highest purpose. Private institutions generally are being roused to an appreciation of social dangers. State universities, with their natural safeguards of poverty and practical democracy, should be readily able to take the initiative in the recovery of lost ideals.

CHAPTER XII

GRADUATE WORK

FROM the earliest provision for the higher education of women, they have shown a desire to extend their work by graduate courses. The first graduate students ever registered in Wisconsin were women. Since 1871–72 they have constantly been represented there, and only two years since 1879 have failed to record the granting of higher degrees to women in Wisconsin. Although the same conditions may have existed in other coeducational institutions, the general provision throughout the country for women's graduate study is a recent development. Now all the great graduate schools are open to them. Princeton is the only university of consequence that does not receive them for this work, and its organisation there for men is very recent.

Several universities recognised the scholastic attainments of women in advanced work before admitting them for undergraduate study. Yale is a conspicuous example of the progressive spirit that is more manifest in advanced work. Presi-

dent Hadley commended the admission of women at Yale for graduate study only, as consistent and natural for the following reasons. Undergraduate and graduate work are more distinct at Yale than elsewhere. The college or undergraduate school is conservative, while the university is progressive. College traditions do not affect the university proper, and the presence of women in graduate work does not interfere with the life of the undergraduates.[1]

Women's colleges cannot afford to duplicate the equipment for graduate study now provided at Johns Hopkins, Yale, Harvard, and Columbia, at Leland Stanford and Chicago, and at the state universities. Bryn Mawr is the only women's college providing for graduate work, directly leading to the doctor's degree.

Coeducational institutions, as a matter of course, make the same provision for women as for men. As, other things being equal, women will naturally seek their advantages where their presence is a matter of course, it follows that coeducational institutions will receive a more rapidly increasing number of graduate women than will be received by other universities. If the state universities generally have not yet felt this tendency, it is due to the fact that their provision for graduate

[1] *Educational Review*, iii., 486.

work has a more recent development than that for undergraduates.

The increase in the number of women seeking advanced work has been very rapid. Between 1889–90 and 1898–99, the number of women at graduate schools increased at the rate of 276%, while the rate of increase among the men was 115%.

Of the women in attendance at the twenty largest graduate schools in the country in 1905–06, 45% were at Chicago and Columbia; California state university had from three to four times as many graduate women as any other state institution; and New York University a considerably larger number than any state university excepting California. As the state universities establish their reputation for graduate work, it is inevitable that they should assume more of their just share in providing these advantages for women.

In Wisconsin, however, it must be admitted that the attendance of women in graduate work has not kept pace with the growing reputation of the graduate school. In 1890–91, 42% and in 1900–01, 32% of Wisconsin's graduate students in the college of letters and science were women. For this whole period of eleven years the annual average ratio was 30%. In 1907–08 the proportion

of women was 24%, and the general annual average since 1900–01 has been 21%. In 1906–07, Wisconsin had only a ratio of 18% women among its graduate students. As the general average for the country is 34%, Wisconsin was in 1906–07 doing about one-half its share of this work for women. It is a matter of interest to inquire into the causes of this condition in Wisconsin and possibly other state universities.

Graduate work is fostered by fellowships and graduate scholarships. This is only a general recognition of the fact that leisure, money, and a favourable environment are essential factors for the best results in original work. Women have sometimes been thought to be deficient in this work. President Van Hise in his address in Boston referred to the opinion of "the president of one large state university," who "says that the presence of women does tend to lower the standard of graduate work, for the simple reason that women do not incline to research." President Van Hise does not assent to this opinion. He gives data from the records of Chicago university to 1904, showing that, while women had received 14% of the total number of doctors' degrees conferred, they numbered 9% of the lowest grade, 18% of the next, 14% of the next, and 19% of the highest. The facts do not seem to justify

any conclusion that women are inferior in graduate work. But it must be remembered that freedom from anxiety as to money, the subordination of any instructional work which may be required to the original work undertaken, the hearty sympathy and co-operation of instructors with all the purposes for which this work is pursued, are all absolutely essential to its best development. It must be remembered, also, that these factors are almost universally present for men, and very generally absent in the case of women.

The women in graduate work are almost entirely those preparing to teach, or even actively engaged in this occupation as a necessary means of livelihood while pursuing their studies. If this is true of men also, their condition is partially relieved by the fact that they have a greater earning capacity than women. They have saved more money, or they can more readily borrow what they require. Many women in graduate work have sought it in spite of discouragement, and the warning that it would profit them little in their profession. On the other hand, men of promise are sought by faculties, every inducement of future advancement is held out to them, their leisure is protected, and their necessities are relieved.

The annual report of the National Bureau of

Education made in 1893 called attention to the very general discrimination against women in this respect: "Experience abundantly proves that without the aid of scholarship funds many of the most promising students among young men would never be able to push their studies beyond the public schools. This is equally the case with young women; unfortunately, very little help is afforded them in graduate and professional courses which are directly preparatory to remunerative careers." The resources provided for this purpose were tabulated in this report and it was shown that for undergraduates one-third of all available funds may be given to women; but for graduate students only one-fifth of all fellowships and a proportion of graduate scholarships too insignificant to formulate are at their service.[1]

Subsequent statements show no great change in these conditions. In the statement referred to consideration is given to what is legally available for women. What is practically available is often a very different matter, and still more to their disadvantage. That women have frequently distinguished themselves in graduate work in spite of the discrimination against them, is a triumph of ability and perseverance not to be reasonably anticipated.

[1] *Annual Report*, 1891–92, p. 796.

Universities and colleges very generally make advancement in faculty positions depend upon a doctor's degree. Women instructors without this degree seldom receive more than $800 or $1000 a year. To insist that a woman should save enough from such a salary to enable her to take several years' expensive graduate training is to establish nothing short of an intellectual sweat-shop system. Some women have done this in Wisconsin, and many more have accomplished it throughout the country under similarly hard conditions. What right has anyone to expect the product to rank higher in the intellectual world than the regular sweat-shop product in the commercial world? That the intellectual product does often under these circumstances rise to real worth, that it is even sufficiently appreciable to lead learned educators to discuss gravely whether or not it lowers the standard of their graduate schools, is a matter of surprise. It would be a matter of greater congratulation, were we not forced to consider the loss of leisure, of social advantages, of travel, even of comfort, which its attainment often entails. And all this is because only from one-fifth to an inappreciable amount of the money devoted by private beneficence and public taxation to the making of scholars goes to women.

The national Collegiate Alumnæ Association recognised the stimulus to be afforded graduate work by fellowships; and, during the past twenty years, has made twenty-four such appointments for foreign study, and ten for graduate work in America. The value of the work resulting from these fellowships can be hardly paralleled by any provision for graduate work for men of similar extent. That more than two hundred eligible candidates have necessarily been denied appointment to these positions offered by the collegiate alumnæ, shows the loss to the country on account of inadequate provision for such work for women.

The past twenty years have witnessed the general development of this work in state universities where the fellowships and scholarships are all, of course, legally available for women. It would naturally be expected that, in a state university where the development of coeducation in undergraduate study had been so early and so favourable as in Wisconsin, there would be found a corresponding development of their graduate work. This development would very naturally be advanced in such an institution by giving to women a fair proportion of the endowment for graduate study made by public taxation. This expectation is not fulfilled by

the history of fellowships and scholarships in Wisconsin.

This university first gave fellowships to graduate students in 1888, when four were awarded, two to women. In the spring of 1908, of sixteen such appointments, again two were given to women. If the proportion in 1888 was too large, it may be profitably considered whether it is not at present too small. This becomes specially the subject of thoughtful inquiry when it is realised that only twice during the past nine years have more than three women been appointed; and that in 1896 nine men and in 1905 fifteen men received appointments, not a single woman being recognised; and that three times only one woman's name has appeared in a total list of seven, ten, or twelve. The truth is that while the university catalogue states that for these benefits "men and women are equally eligible," while the fellowships considered are almost wholly limited to the college of letters and science, where women in undergraduate work have for the past ten years made up about 42% of the students, and while the list of fellowships supported by public taxation has grown from four to sixteen, the actual number of women honoured remains practically the same that it was twenty years ago.

One other comparison may be made. Of the

fellowships awarded in the college of letters and science for the first six years, women received an annual average of 31%; of those awarded during the next ten years, they received an annual average of 25.7%; of those awarded during the five years just past, they have received an annual average of 11%. The period last considered covers the period of the most rapid growth of Wisconsin's graduate school. Moreover, during this same period, excepting for 1907–08 when women numbered 24% of the graduate students, the average percentage of women in attendance was lower than it had ever been in twenty years' history of the university's graduate work. Before 1902–03, this percentage had never fallen to 22%. Only once since that date has it risen above 21%. Only once during the past six years have more than two fellowships been awarded to women; and this was in the spring of 1907 just preceding their largest relative attendance in the graduate school since 1900–01.

A comparison of the award of fellowships to women with their attendance in the graduate school is not without interest. It being remembered that in each case the awards are made in the spring of each year for the succeeding college year, there is a very general correspondence between the two series of facts. The comparison

suggests, at least, a stimulus directly afforded to graduate study by fellowships, and this not so much from the actual benefit received as from the illustration afforded the prospective students of the spirit of a faculty. Only two years, 1899–1900 and 1902–03, present marked exceptions to the general tendency.

Year.	% of fellowships given to women	% in graduate school.	Year.	% of fellowships given to women.	% in graduate school.
1888–89	50	40	1898–99	20	31
1889–90	27	40	1899–00	36	25
1890–91	33	42	1900–01	41	32
1891–92	25	34	1901–02	23	23
1892–93	14	28	1902–03	33	22
1893–94	20	23	1903–04	15	19
1894–95	21	24	1904–05	16	21
1895–96	20	31	1905–06	0	20
1896–97	0	25	1906–07	8	18
1897–98	18	29	1907–08	18	24

During the twenty-one years that fellowships have been offered in Wisconsin, thirty-three women and one hundred and sixty men have received them. As the same person is eligible to reappointment, forty-seven appointments have been given to women and one hundred and ninety to men. The women have received 20% of the whole number of appointments, and contributed 17% of the persons honoured. Of forty-two fellowship appointments, depending on

private foundation, made during the same period, women have received only six; all being legally equally available for both sexes.

Of graduate scholarships they have had even a smaller share than of fellowships. Of the whole number of the former awarded by the university, women have received an annual average of 16%; and of those awarded during the past ten years they have received an annual average of 10%.

If less than one-fifth of all funds for graduate work throughout the country is legally available for women, and if, as might be expected, Wisconsin represents the average condition of their advantages—illustrating the fact that of all that is legally available only from 10% to 20% has for the past ten years been practically available,—the relative stimulus from this source for men and women in graduate work is forcibly demonstrated.

The desire of women for advanced work, and their ability to profit by it, have been amply proven. Its development depends upon the material and intellectual stimulus which it receives. There is a manifest injustice in dividing the resources of educational institutions reserved for fellowships between two equally worthy claimants in the probable proportion of twenty-five to one; or their graduate scholarship resources

in the possible proportion of one hundred to one. There is, moreover, an inevitable waste and a corresponding loss to civilisation in any such unequal distribution, whereby so much inferior talent is cultivated at the expense of that more worthy. Although men have, at present, almost entire control of these resources, a very large part of them have been received from the benefaction of women, and from public taxation; and it is only reasonable to suppose that when women have fully demonstrated the value of their advanced scholarship to civilisation the injustice will be corrected and the waste will cease.

The consideration of the practical worth of women's scholarship discloses a difference of opinion among educators. Those who believe that women should be educated to regard marriage as a profession, and that college courses, if pursued by them, should be supplementary to a technical training to the end that marriage may be accomplished and its obligations fulfilled, would themselves not agree upon the degree of intellectual culture to be desired. Those who advocate the separation of adolescent sons from their mothers, would very naturally concern themselves with very little but the physical and moral condition of these mothers. Their health and their tempers would have the same sort of interest possessed

by the health and tempers of other animals; and the degree of this interest would depend upon the relative position of humanity in the animal world. The practical use of advanced scholarship for women who were to have no influence in even training their own sons being reduced to its lowest terms, there still remains the difference between these sons and other animals as to the necessity or desirability of inheriting an intellect. The fact cannot be ignored that these intellects are derived from mothers in the same degree as from fathers. And it is not easy to calculate to a nicety the exact degree to which the mother's intellect may be neglected without becoming too nearly extinct to be easily transmitted. It should, perhaps, be considered that if there were to be no practical use whatever made of the highly developed feminine intellect, its conservation for purposes of transmission would appear to demand more careful attention from educators, than if it were encouraged to freely develop in the ordinary work of the world.

The great majority of educators who believe that women should be educated primarily for marriage place no limit upon the intellectual culture that is, to this end, desirable. They would rather commend the example of Eurydice, who, "after she began to have children, sought to have

learning, to bring them up skilfully whom she brought forth naturally."

But women make returns to the state for their educational advantages, aside from those indirectly made through their children. It is a matter of concern that so large a proportion of women never marry. There are even those who, by restricting educational advantages, would limit the opportunities of women for self-support on these grounds, thereby driving into lower grades of service the many who are obliged to support themselves.

Some argue that women should not receive fellowships and scholarships because they do not make the returns to the public that should follow such investments. The returns they make can be readily determined. The chief difficulty about them is that there is so little opportunity presented for making them. While men, as compared with women at least, are substantially rewarded for their labour in investigation, and are given premiums for service which is measured by years and not merit, women are practically excluded from trial in the same field. The results attained by women must be measured by the opportunities offered; and even under the limitations imposed these results compare very favourably with those of any other educational investment.

The twenty-four successful candidates for the European fellowship, offered by the Collegiate Alumnæ Association, may be given as an illustration of the results of graduate work by women. Of this number, four graduated from women's colleges, and twenty-one had taken graduate courses at coeducational institutions. One had received the doctor's degree at Boston university, one at Michigan, five at Cornell, four at Chicago, one at Bryn Mawr, and one was the first woman to receive this degree at Yale.

Before receiving this foreign fellowship, one had received a fellowship at Michigan, one at Northwestern, one at Vassar, three at Bryn Mawr, three at Cornell, and five at Chicago. One had held a graduate scholarship at Cornell, one at Bryn Mawr, and two at Chicago. One was a graduate of the university of Wisconsin, but received no other preparation for her advanced work there, having held a fellowship at Bryn Mawr. Her doctor's degree from Göttingen and opportunities for distinction as a mathematical student depended wholly upon her recognition from a women's college, and upon an organisation of college women.

The women honoured by this organisation had nearly all distinguished themselves in graduate work before the foreign fellowships were awarded

to them. They were consequently most favourably introduced to their new fields of labour, both by the association which sent them abroad and by their own merit. They immediately commanded the respect of foreign professors, and had great influence upon the development of foreign educational advantages for women. The first of these fellowships was granted in 1890. During that year a woman could not gain admittance to lectures at the university of Berlin, even though she had held a fellowship in an American university, and had the hearty personal indorsement of one of the most distinguished professors of Berlin. Such a woman was refused this privilege, and could only hear Dr. Schmidt's lectures on the history of art by attending those given by him at the Victoria Lycée for girls. Women were then admitted to lectures at Leipsic, but it was impossible to consider a degree for them.

The first petition ever granted giving a woman the privilege of working for a doctor's degree in Germany was presented to the Ministerium by one of the fellows of the collegiate alumnæ, asking that the University of Heidelberg might be empowered to grant her the doctorate upon fulfilling the required conditions. The first American women to receive a doctor's degree from Heidelberg, from Göttingen, or from any German

university were among these fellows. Among them was the first woman admitted to Göttingen university, and the first permitted to work in the biological laboratory of the university of Strassburg. All have been instrumental in opening to women doors which had been effectively barred against them, and in ensuring, by their use of opportunities won, an easy entrance to their followers. They have worthily represented the scholarship of American women at Newnham College in Cambridge, the universities of Oxford, Berlin, Leipsic, Zurich, Basel, Jena, Berne, and Munich; at the American schools of classical study in Rome and Athens; at the London School of Economics, and the Naples zoölogical station; at the Bibliothèque Nationale and the Sorbonne. In all these fields their work has been fraught with possibilities of immense importance to the cause of the higher education of women, and has been a most practical demonstration of the value of fellowships.

There is much more than the obvious immediate advantage sought attached to these opportunities for graduate study. Each one granted by any institution, in recognition of merit and influential endorsement, is the open sesame to the further opportunity which every student eagerly seeks. To men this comradeship in scholarly attainments is cordially extended throughout the civilised

world. Women must take their meagre share of recognition, and prove that it has not been thrown away in having been withheld from men distinctly inferior in attainment and intellectual promise. This statement cannot be denied so long as women prove equal to men in undergraduate scholarship, and receive only from one to five per cent. of the rewards justly belonging to high intellectual attainment. This is worse than an injustice to scholarly women. It is a positive injury to civilisation. It also forms the basis of the objection made by some men to coeducation; for it is only under this system that women can prove their intellectual equality, and come into competition with men for their just measure of reward. In this objection is the incompetent coward's argument of injustice and greed, and it is heard at every outpost won for women's place in the educational and industrial world.

But what proof can be offered by the group of women used as an illustration, by work accomplished after their fellowships had expired, that the opportunities they have enjoyed have not been wasted? Time, for some of them, makes only a partial answer possible. Others have already contributed to the world's knowledge by valuable scientific research on the national biological survey, in the laboratories of McGill and Penn-

sylvania universities, in the Cavendish laboratory at Cambridge university; by historical research work for the Carnegie Institution; by investigation on the United States fish commission on the part of the first woman ever admitted to this work; by original research and publication in the lines of sociology, archæology, psychology, and astronomy. They have practically advanced the cause of education by worthily filling instructional positions, at Wellesley, Vassar, Mt. Holyoke, Wells, Barnard, Smith, the Women's College of Baltimore, the American school for girls at Constantinople, the state normal schools at Lewiston and Ypsilanti, the Bradley Polytechnic Institute, Washington College, the Teachers College of New York, Oberlin, Ohio Wesleyan, the Agricultural College of Kansas, and the universities of Kansas and Chicago.

No work in original or instructional lines has probably surpassed in usefulness that of the first woman to receive the collegiate alumnæ fellowship, who went to Paris in the summer of 1904 to complete the organisation of the British American Young Women's Christian Association. Besides British and Americans, Germans, Austrians, Scandinavians, and French have engaged in promoting its work, and from its shelter more than twelve hundred young women have gone out to all

parts of the world. The Association occupies three buildings in different parts of Paris, with lunch and rest rooms, a studio, a teahouse, a dispensary, and infirmary. What this means of comfort and protection to the girl students of Paris is emphasised in a description, in the Chicago *Tribune* of August 15, 1908, of the students' hostel which was opened in December, 1906, and which is only one department of the work. More than one hundred American girls are living at this hostel, many of whom are studying at the Sorbonne. Among the efforts at organised social life centring about this club are an International Art Union, a Musical Union, and a Women's University Club. It is destined to inspire similar institutions in other European cities; and Miss Helen Gould, who has been interested in its progress, has already established one in Rome. In fostering the talents of the woman to whose accomplishments and executive ability the success of this work in Paris is so largely due, the collegiate alumnæ have made a practical demonstration of the value of their fellowships that can hardly be surpassed in emphasis.

For purposes of illustration a small group of women, embracing all who have received these foreign fellowships, has been taken. Forty-one other women have had similar advantages in

American and foreign universities provided by the collegiate alumnæ, either alone or in union with other associations. The result from this large group would double those already described and forcibly emphasise the loss to the country in denying more than 80% of the applicants for these advantages. And while these women are being denied, the advantages they seek are being given to men of only equal preparation and ability in the proportion of twenty-five to one!

Considering the difference in the opportunities offered, the record of Wisconsin's thirty-three graduate fellows is as creditable as that of the group whose work has been described. Of the whole number, three married without any professional service; five married while teaching, and one while engaged in newspaper work. One of these fellows was among the first women admitted to lectures at Leipsic university; three have studied at the American Classical School in Rome, one at the Zoölogical Station in Naples, and one at the Sorbonne. Instructional positions have been held by them in the high schools of Minneapolis, Denver, and Chicago, the state normal school at Milwaukee, the Nebraska Central College, Swarthmore College, and the universities of Minnesota and Wisconsin. The latter institution has had, from the whole number, forty-eight years of instructional service,

not including that rendered while the fellowships were being held. One is engaged in private tutoring, one in research and editorial work for the State Historical Society, one in library work for the Charity Organisation Society of New York, and one in the Wisconsin State legislative reference library.

One-third of the number have received the doctor's degree. Before 1894, Wisconsin had conferred this degree upon two men and one woman. Since that time, including degrees received in June, 1908, ninety-two men and thirteen women have received it. During the same time Chicago has conferred about four times as many such degrees upon men and five times as many upon women. Women have received a larger proportion of the master's degrees granted by Wisconsin than their attendance in the graduate school would naturally indicate. They have received 29.2% of all such degrees granted before 1907, covering a period of 28 years. Their relative average annual attendance in the graduate school from 1887, when all students registered there numbered 15, to 1907, equalled 27.8%. For the years from 1897 to 1907 they received 28.4% of all master's degrees granted, and their average relative attendance in the graduate school during that period equalled 24.8%. For 1907

and 1908 they received 31.8% of the master's degrees granted and their relative annual attendance in the graduate school equalled 21%. The college of letters and science is alone included in this statement.

The graduate women students have been a credit to the university, and the record of the women who have held fellowships in Wisconsin is one upon which the Wisconsin graduate school has good reason to be congratulated. Why should it not extend its privileges and its inducements to a larger proportion of women? Has it been so difficult to select during the past twenty-one years, thirty-three women worthy of university fellowships, or, during fifteen years, twenty women worthy of graduate scholarships?

Beginning with the class of 1876, and ending with that of 1888, there prevailed in Wisconsin an honour system based upon scholarship as determined by the class marks of all the professors. Honours of the first grade were given to 3% of the men and 10% of the women graduated during that time; and honours of the second grade to 10% of the men and 16% of the women of the same classes.

For the past ten years the Phi Beta Kappa society has by its elections been distinguishing

undergraduates who we might reasonably expect would furnish material for post-graduate honours. Of this material women furnish 43%, more than doubling the average proportion of fellowships granted to women. The maximum proportion of women elected to the Phi Beta Kappa society from any class equals 71%. The maximum proportion for any year equals 57%. The minimum proportion for any class is the same as that for any year, viz. 28.6%, being considerably more than the average proportion of fellowships granted to women, which is less than 20%.

During the past five years, when the average annual proportion of women holding fellowships has equalled 11%, the average annual proportion of women elected to the Phi Beta Kappa society has equalled 43.8%. The class which graduated when fifteen men and no woman received fellowships had ten Phi Beta Kappa women, five of whom were chosen among the seven students elected during their junior year. All the women elected to this society from this class entered the teaching profession.

A comparison for each year may be properly made. The table given below includes the only years in which more than three women were ever elected as fellows or scholars.

Year.	Fellows elected.		Scholars elected.		Phi Beta Kappas elected.	
	Men.	Women.	Men.	Women.	Men.	Women.
1899–1900	8	5	7	0	14	13
1900–1901	7	5	10	0	13	8
1901–1902	10	3	8	2	11	10
1902–1903	8	4	10	1	15	6
1903–1904	11	2	9	1	11	10
1904–1905	10	2	16	1	9	12
1905–1906	15	0	15	2	12	9
1906–1907	11	1	12	4	12	9
1907–1908	13	3	13	1	14	7
1908–1909	14	2[1]	13	1	12	9

The individual record of the Phi Beta Kappa students of the Wisconsin university well illustrates the comparative opportunities for graduate study enjoyed by men and women. Including elections of 1906, ninety-seven men and seventy-seven women were admitted to this society. Sixty of these women engaged in teaching. Only ten of their number had any help in graduate work by fellowships, scholarships, or instructional work in Wisconsin, and two in other institutions, although twenty-five of them became graduate students. Thirty-five of these teachers had no

[1] By the resignation of a man elected to a fellowship in the spring of 1908, a vacancy occurred which was filled during the summer by the appointment of a woman. The official record of original elections made has been followed. The catalogues show five women fellows in 1902–03; one in 1904–05; and two in 1906–07.

advantage from graduate work, and thirteen of them won it by their unaided efforts.

Of the men among the Phi Beta Kappa students about one-third of the whole number entered business, or the professions of law and medicine. The remainder, equalling in number the teachers among the women, became teachers, or are continuing their studies. The records show that forty-six of these men became graduate students, thirty-nine of them being helped by scholarships, fellowships, or instructional work. To Phi Beta Kappa students who became teachers, including a nearly equal number of men and women, forty-eight such appointments were given in Wisconsin, thirty-eight to men and ten to women.

Here are two groups of students of as nearly equal ability as can be estimated, educated under precisely similar conditions, "equally eligible" by law to all the material advantages that Wisconsin can offer in scholarships and fellowships. The only difference between them is that the men are better able than the women to earn the money needed for their advancement. Yet of those who teach, 20% of the women (excluding now all whose service is for a few years only) and 71% of the men, of those who engage in graduate study, 50% of the women and more than 85% of the men, are helped in their preparation by

instructional positions or by money that the people pay on the specific condition that its benefits are "equally" for both. There is nothing to account for this discrimination in the sentiment of the people. The regents of the university have recently reinforced the rules which they had published for twenty years by the following resolution: "There shall be no discrimination on account of sex in granting scholarships or fellowships in any of the colleges or departments of the university." The faculty is a fair-minded body without fear or favour, and its president would not willingly consent to injustice in the distribution of what belongs equally to all. Upon the matter under consideration, however, none of these powers are at present brought to bear directly. The people pay the price, the regents make and publish rules, the faculty receives the appointments, and the president transmits them; but it is the department that makes them. Formerly the faculty acted upon the whole list of appointments, with some information as to the candidates. Now all are by faculty rules formally assigned to the various departments, and the leading professors of each department decide upon the respective candidates. If a professor thinks graduate work in his particular line more profitable for a man than for a woman; or if he thinks

a graduate student, who must have some instructional work, is in that work more profitably a man than a woman; or if he thinks that a man's reputation in the educational world will reflect more credit upon himself or his department than he can expect from the work of a woman, he has the power to settle the matter himself; and it often happens that this power is not first exercised after application for the appointment is made, but is responsible for the application itself. If, on the other hand, a professor is disposed to deal with the matter impartially, and has seen the honours in his department fall naturally and justly to women, he begins to fear that the department may be thereby discredited, and distinguished for lack of interest or ability among the men students. There is under the present system of distribution no power to look over the whole field, and weigh dispassionately the merits of all candidates and the claims of all departments.

Under the present system, a very small number of men, or even a single man, may absolutely nullify, in accordance with individual notions of what a woman's education should be, the policy of the people who pay for these benefits, and the policy of the regents who annually announce that "men and women are equally eligible" for these

appointments. An element vital to the policy of the institution has been removed from the influence of the faculty as a body, and placed in the absolute control of a small number of individuals who might now or at some future time be hostile to that policy. The prejudice that could easily be met in the case of a single man, or an organised body of men, becomes a hydra-headed monster when it finds cover in a series of departments rivalling each other in the number of men they can register, and in apologies for the number of women they must receive. This condition is a new one arising from the rapid growth of universities, and it must be remedied by a firm reminder to faculties in public institutions that they are dealing with privileges that are not their own to give or withhold, and that the personal opinion of no man may gainsay what the people have declared to be woman's "equal eligibility" to these privileges.

The gist of the whole matter as to graduate work for women is not so much "What can she do with it?" as "What will she be allowed to do with it?" In the answer to this question, Wisconsin is more just than some institutions, and less just than others. Women would not be prevented from making some use of their equipment. It would be recommended as generally useful in

high schools, normal schools, and even women's colleges. It would be acceptable in infinitesimal quantities in higher coeducational institutions providing a woman would do a man's work for one half his salary, in a position giving no authority or influence in the control of the department. This is in practice what Wisconsin says, and there are other states even less favourable to the work of women.

In a review of the national progress in education in 1901–02, President Harper said: "Considerable comment has been made, although in a quiet and cautious way, upon the apparent scarcity of women possessed of the proper qualifications and training for the highest positions in college work. A prominent educator (I think it best to withhold mention of his name) has gone so far as to say that this scarcity is greater to-day than it was five years ago. Several suggestions have been made in explanation of this fact. For myself, I am not convinced that the proposition itself is true. The women now being graduated, with the doctor's degree, from our strongest institutions, are, in almost every particular, as able and as strong as the men. If opportunity were offered, these women would show that they possess the qualifications demanded. The fact is that to women there do not come the opportuni-

ties to show their strength which come to men. In colleges and universities for men only, women may not find a place upon the faculty. In a certain great state university, in which there are as many women students as men students, women are represented in the faculty by a single individual and she has been appointed within the last three years. In some of the women's colleges, women find a place. In others, second-rate and third-rate men are preferred to women of first-rate ability. The number of faculties of colleges and universities on which women have appointments in any number is very small, and even in certain institutions in which women have gained secure footing there is often greater or less distress among the men of the various departments if even one or two women are appointed. And yet, is it possible that the heads of our state institutions which are established by the people and conducted with the people's money—institutions which are profoundly democratic beyond all others—deliberately refuse to recommend the appointment of women even when they have attained equal rank with men in scholarship and efficiency? So far as I can ascertain, during the past year the appointments of women, east and west, even in coeducational institutions, have numbered very few; fewer, perhaps, than ever

before. Is this progress? Or is it rather a concession to prejudices which, instead of growing weaker, are growing stronger? I venture to ask the regents of our state universities, and the trustees of our coeducational institutions to consider this question; and I think it not inappropriate to suggest for the consideration of the trustees of certain women's colleges the question whether, in this matter, they have given to women the full opportunity which they deserve."[1]

This is briefly the history of women in Wisconsin's faculty: They have been represented there since 1863. No woman of distinction has ever been called there. Only two full professorships have ever been given to women; one for domestic science, and one which was for six years incidental and subordinate to the administration of the dormitory for women students. One associate professorship existed for three years which was incidental and subordinate to the administrative office of dean of women. At present neither of these administrative positions is accompanied by any instructional work.

There are at present, aside from work in physical culture, two assistant professors, who have been members of the faculty for twenty-one and

[1] "Educational Progress of the Year," *Educational Review*, XXIV., 261.

twenty-four years; and five instructors, who have been employed for one, three, seven, thirteen, and sixteen years respectively. The number of women in Wisconsin's faculty has for twenty years remained practically the same, varying from three to seven. The number of men in the faculty of the college of letters, which is alone considered, has during the same period steadily increased from twenty-three to one hundred and thirty-seven. About one-third of the men and more than two-thirds of the women rank as instructors. Of the forty-five men in this rank, but six have been employed more than three years. In the failure to appoint and promote worthy women, Wisconsin university is an example of the injustice that too universally prevails. A fair recognition would insure at once at least twenty-five women in Wisconsin's faculty, seventeen of whom would rank above instructors. This recognition would be entirely exclusive of physical culture, domestic science, administrative offices, music and other arts. It would be in lines where their work would be in direct competition with that of men, and in positions where some measure of influence and control in the department would be possible.

Under present conditions the women qualified to do advanced instructional work are unjustly

crowded into inferior positions. The men who are trying to manage the large coeducational institutions are in danger of becoming warped in judgment and crippled in execution, from being deprived of advice and direction which is sympathetic with the best interests of fully one-half their students. The women among the students lose the stimulus of association with the ideal toward which they are striving. The student men, especially those among them who think that they can be well taught only by men, have not the advantage of the proper perspective in intellectual life. They have come from coeducational high schools to an institution supposed to be without sex distinctions. Their new intellectual environment is wholly out of keeping with their experience and their sense of justice.

Who, as a rule, are the men who have a broad, just view of woman's capacity, and of woman's just opportunity? They are those who have been brought in contact with this capacity and observed the results of its exercise in opportunities afforded. May we not hope that the young men preparing for citizenship in our state universities will not lose the sense of justice, love of fair play, the respect for ability and capacity wherever found, that is really inherent in their sex, by the cultivation of the petty spirit of superiority

that is in reality the last refuge of an inferior nature?

If public education is good for general snobbishness, coeducation is no less good for its intellectual type; and whatever, on the other hand, may be said for the conventual form of education, there is no reasonable defence for a coeducational institution with an almost exclusive faculty of men. The assumption that women would not form a worthy and acceptable element in the faculties of higher coeducational institutions, is only a declaration to the people who pay for this service that its rewards are to be reserved for men. If women can not properly instruct at least the freshman and sophomore university classes, why has the university of Wisconsin made every effort to establish such a relation with the seven state normal schools that the men they graduate are being honourably received into its junior class with full credit for two years' work toward any baccalaureate degree? More than half the teachers in these normal schools are women. They render the same service, and are paid from the same source, as the members of the university faculty. Why should they be excluded from rendering this service in the university? Yet this is constantly being done by the heads of departments who neg-

lect or refuse to recommend the appointment of women.

It is no wonder that educational problems vex the faculties of coeducational institutions. These problems chiefly concern universities as primarily created and maintained for the benefit of men. The excitement over the increasing attendance of women is a typical example. From the masculine stand-point this is a problem because it implies that the university is obliged to assimilate a foreign element. From the human stand-point it is no problem at all.

Social problems now being clumsily fumbled by faculties of men might find easy solution if masculine impatience and incapacity in practical dealing with such problems were not as inevitable as they are notorious. No social question can be satisfactorily settled with so large an eclipse of human intelligence as is involved in the practical exclusion of women from the faculties of coeducational institutions.

Who shall draw the dead line on women seeking graduate work and the opportunity to reap its full rewards? Who shall say to them: "This or that department will bring you the best returns"; "this fellowship or scholarship is not open to you"; or "coeducational institutions will not employ you for this or that work"? Surely every institution

supported by public taxation and publishing inducements of equal opportunities must make its word good in all the demands made. These demands very properly include the preparation for the most advanced instructional positions in all departments, and practical encouragement in seeking them.

James P. Monroe, in the *Atlantic Monthly* of September, 1908, said of a state university: "It deliberately developed this sort of education [agricultural] in order to catch the farmers' votes . . . generously did the farmer legislature respond with appropriations, so that to-day it gives millions where formerly it begrudged ten thousands. . . . The university, in its campaign for votes and funds, has not stopped at the farmers. It has catered too, in the good meaning of that word, to the manufacturers. The engineering side has grown even faster than the agricultural."

This is measurably true of the history of all state universities. They are all under the periodical necessity of demonstrating to doubting legislators that the desired appropriations are not destined for the construction of brick moons, whose projected orbits may interest savants, but will never touch the earth. These universities must have solid foundations covering the inter-

ests of every class; and although women have generally no votes their educational interests are assuredly not secondary to those of men in the estimation of the people.

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